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FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

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28th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 13 October 1993 at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. MOSES (Federated States of Micronesia): On behalf of the Federated States of Micronesia, I am honoured this morning to address the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session, and I bring the warm greetings of our President and our people.

Given the many challenges facing the Organization and the entire world in the coming year, we are pleased by your election, Mr. President. You have our confidence and support as you assume this high office, so ably discharged by your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev, who enjoyed our respect and gratitude.

Special recognition must also be given to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, under whose leadership the United Nations has taken difficult steps in a process of redefinition and reorganization, which is necessary if we are to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the new world order and work together in the interests of all mankind.

During the past year we have seen the membership of the United Nations draw ever closer to the goal of universality. We thus congratulate the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Eritrea, Monaco and Andorra, and to each of them we extend a welcome and pledge cooperation and friendship.

Our people are deeply saddened by the loss of life and the suffering caused by the earthquake in India last month, and we express to the Indian people our sincere sympathy and pledge to them that we will participate in any effort undertaken by this Organization.

Not many years ago, the appropriate role of the "micro-States" within the world community was to be seen but seldom heard, and even to be excluded from many forums. In our own small island developing State, we, as the body politic of a classic "micro-State", hesitated to assert our views on international affairs, thinking that a small nation could not make a difference in or have an impact upon the resolution of global issues.

Today I draw attention to a significant but less noticeable feature of the new order. Throughout history, international relations have been conducted on a competitive basis, where power and size made a difference. But I am happy to note that things have changed for the better, that a change has begun to take place; and I think it is one that has gathered increased momentum even within the past few years. Nations large and small, in the process of working together under the Charter, have begun to focus their attention and direct their efforts along the lines of commonality of interests and problems - and not merely to pay lip-service. Indeed there is a growing, genuine phenomenon, which is seen partly in the unfolding of events in New York, but even more clearly in the impressive outcomes of the Rio Conference on Environment and Development and the recent World Conference on Human Rights. Another sign is the entire

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world community's keen anticipation of the upcoming Conference on Population and Development and the World Summit for Social Development.

I do not mean to suggest a disappearance of national interests; but, across a wide spectrum of social, development and even security matters, there is a growing recognition that common interests give strength to new alliances on an inclusive rather than exclusive basis. Thus, there is good reason for continued progress towards self-determination among peoples, since they can now be confident that they will not be alone in addressing the great difficulties of starting out. For similar reasons, many of the "micro-States" have concluded recently that membership in this Organization is imperative, despite the burdens and responsibilities involved.

As this session of the General Assembly proceeds, we are becoming aware of the changes in the Organization in terms of organization, administration and policy. There may be some who doubt that Members have the will or commitment to achieve consensus on these changes and to re-establish the proper financial basis for a United Nations that can be responsive to the present. I submit, however, that any such doubts must be dispelled during our work here in the coming months, for we simply cannot afford to fail. The United Nations is no longer an optional feature of the international community. The common concerns of mankind in the great issues to which I alluded earlier cannot be addressed from behind national fences. And so, I appeal to all Members to commit themselves fully to reaching at this session the goal of preparing the United Nations to become the central instrument through which we can work to secure the future well-being of our peoples.

I believe that the direct experience of my country within our brief time as a Member provides unmistakable evidence of the strength of concerted, international action. Only a few years ago, having emerged from colonialism, our best hopes for development lay in dependence for an indefinite period on the generosity of a few friends, chief among them the United States. Moreover, as inhabitants of small, low-lying islands, we were helpless in the face of the looming threat of sea-level rise and other natural disasters caused by human-induced climate change.

Today, through the work of this body and with our participation, the special development needs and environmental concerns of all small island developing States are being carefully addressed in a number of settings, including the Conventions on climate change and biodiversity and the follow-up activities of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The early work of the Commission on Sustainable Development promises attention to our problems, as can be seen in the upcoming first Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.

All this is not happening because of an outburst of charitable sympathy by the developed countries, but rather in the context of addressing a complex of issues in which peoples everywhere have a stake. Herein, I think, lies the real strength and value of the United Nations - to us and to all.

During the past year, my Government has found encouragement in the ways in which this Organization as a whole recognizes the difficulties that small States encounter as they try to participate fully in its work. We deeply appreciate the opportunities afforded to us through the contribution of Members to voluntary funds that have enabled our participation in important functions. We also acknowledge the instances where calls by small States for the holding of meetings here in New York to make our presence possible have been heard. Furthermore, we appreciate that, whenever possible, special measures for our benefit - such as limiting the number of simultaneous meetings - are being taken.

For our part, small States are now more often coming together on common issues to speak with one voice for greater effectiveness and efficiency. Here, I cite the Alliance of Small Island States as a successful example on the issue of climate change and other UNCED-related matters. In a more general sense, the regional groups operate to the benefit of small States, affording us opportunities of access to elected positions by virtue of allocations and the principle of rotation. I am sure there are other factors favourable to us that I have failed to mention here.

Yet, even with all this, I must state that we are very hard pressed to participate in the broad range of United Nations activities, both financially and owing to the sheer volume and complexity of those activities. For this reason, and because so many other Members are in similar situations, I propose that the United Nations, as part of its reorganization efforts, undertake a comprehensive examination of the obstacles that exist to the full participation of small States with a view towards identifying institutional rather than ad hoc solutions. After all, achieving universality in the United Nations would be

a hollow accomplishment so long as a significant number of Members remain incapable of reaching their effective potential within the Organization. We look forward to addressing this issue during the course of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

My country is a member of the South Pacific Forum, an organization of Governments of Pacific island countries which, each year prior to this date, meets to address matters of concern to our region and to provide an expression of our joint views on many issues before this body. I wish to state our complete solidarity with that expression, contained in the communiqué from our recent meeting in the Republic of Nauru, which will be presented for incorporation in the records of this Assembly.

The Forum members have been outspoken in opposing the testing of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Our optimism ran very high at the Nauru meeting because it seemed that at last the nuclear Powers had found the resolve to bring this dangerous chapter of history to an end. Now, with reports of a recent test by one of them, the Federated States of Micronesia is deeply concerned that the great progress made towards achieving a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty will be reversed. We call on all nuclear Powers not to treat this recent aberration as an incentive to turn backwards, but rather to restore and hold to their collective discipline.

The issue of fundamental human rights is interwoven into every aspect of the activities undertaken by this body. For too long many Governments have been content to avoid confronting it directly as a matter of multilateral responsibility. I am glad to say that we sense some improvement in the situation despite continuing occurrences of the most repugnant kinds of human rights violations.

In this decade, we have witnessed unprecedented changes in world conditions, brought about in part by a growing unanimity of resolve among peoples to express and exercise their fundamental human rights. Recently, prominent States have been dismantled, leading to the formation of other States that afford broader opportunities for the expression of these rights. Sadly, at the same time, other States continue to go to great lengths to suppress them. The world finds itself rejoicing in newly established freedoms but also feeling deep revulsion over atrocities and repression of shocking magnitude. If any lesson emerges from this dichotomy, it must be that isolated progress is not enough and that fundamental human rights issues can no longer be relegated to the background in a set of supposedly higher multilateral priorities. Rather, human rights must be the cornerstone of our work, which must be guided by the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Accordingly, my Government expresses its support for the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action agreed upon at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June this year. We support the adoption of that Declaration by the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

In keeping with the principles of that Declaration, I wish to affirm my Government's strong and unconditional support for the universality of human rights and for the effective multilateral instruments that give meaning and definition to the concept.

As an early priority, our new nation has undertaken a close examination of the existing instruments with a view to freely assuming obligations under them, as is consistent with our Constitution. As a first step, we have acceded to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and we anticipate further action on other instruments as well.

One of the very important concerns that is interlinked with all our Government's hopes for a better future is the rights of women. We fully support the development of effective new instruments in the cause of women's rights in order to secure their protection against discrimination and abuse.

As a nation comprised entirely of indigenous peoples, my Government also expresses its solidarity with all indigenous peoples of the world and particularly those subjected to deprivation of their fundamental human rights within their own homelands.

In this the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism it is important that this body redouble its efforts to ensure that the peoples of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories are given every opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination and self-government. While the obstacles to self-determination for the remaining Territories are minor compared to those that are being confronted so dramatically in Eastern Europe and in Palestine, it remains our moral responsibility to support the right to self-determination for all peoples under colonial administration.

Today, the enlarged membership of the United Nations is in itself strong testimony to the success of

decolonization; let us hark back to our own earlier struggles and recommit ourselves to the complete elimination of colonialism.

My Government welcomes the establishment of the International Tribunal, and the recent election of its members, to try perpetrators of war crimes in the former Republic of Yugoslavia. Still, we would support the establishment of a permanent international human rights tribunal. The independent, juridical composition of any such body should place it above concerns regarding political intervention while denying human rights violators any refuge from defined international responsibility.

The Government of the Federated States of Micronesia attaches great importance to the issue of fundamental human rights, and will continue to participate in the work of this body towards a world community in which all peoples live without threat of encroachment upon these fundamental rights.

It has been well established by actions of this body that the right to development is itself a fundamental human right. But to recognize a right is one thing: to secure the exercise of that right is much more difficult. A great deal is said and done here at the United Nations every year to address the needs of developing countries and peoples, not to mention the considerable resources that are mobilized bilaterally towards that end. Yet we continue to see wide variations in the degree of effectiveness of that assistance and in the results of efforts by developing countries themselves.

This has led an increasing number of us to question whether there might not exist a number of identifiable factors that prevent development efforts from achieving success. If those factors could be defined with precision and recognized where they are present, it might well be possible to attain significant increases in economies and outcomes. On Papua New Guinea's welcome suggestion, and with its welcome leadership - and after considerable discussion and extensive exchanges of views between eminent leaders in the developing world - this matter has been placed before the Assembly as agenda item 151, entitled "United Nations initiative on opportunity and participation". We shall join others in sponsoring a draft resolution to be presented under this item and calling for a comprehensive, systematic and thorough study of the encumbrances to full opportunity and participation in development, with particular reference to the economies of developing countries. If properly supported and carried out, this initiative would make possible significant breakthroughs in the effort to secure this important and fundamental human right, with equality and equity for all.

The Federated States of Micronesia pays a tribute to the enlightened men and women who gave life to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) process and focused the world's attention on the need to begin replacing wasteful and polluting practices with sustainable development. This movement is especially well-timed for my country, since our development planning is still in the early stages and, as a consequence, and with the encouragement and support of the world community, we now have in place a national environmental management strategy that provides an essential complement to our development-planning efforts.

We intend for our country to become a model of effective partnership with other nations, and with this body, demonstrating the application of new, clean technologies in order to accommodate sustainable development within a small, pristine environment.

Of course, as a nation of remote and widely dispersed small islands, many of which are low-lying atolls, we experience all the difficulties recognized in section G of chapter 17 of Agenda 21 as inhibiting the development of small island countries. Thus, we are thankful for the opportunity now before us to enhance general understanding of those difficulties through the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island States.

As a member of the Alliance of Small Island States, we are participating fully in that process. It was most encouraging to note, at the recent preparatory conference, the strong participation by developed countries and also the solid support from our colleagues in the Group of 77. We shall fully reciprocate that support in all appropriate settings because, despite our awareness of our own problems, we know that virtually all developing countries exhibit one or more disabling characteristics that distinguish them from the others. While we are part of a relatively large grouping of countries that share similar characteristics and disabilities, all developing countries deserve to have attention paid to their particular obstacles to development.

In that light, we perceive the Barbados Conference next year as an important early milestone in the post-Rio process, not only for small island developing States but for all nations, developed and developing, that believe as we do in the Rio Declaration and in Agenda 21. The

Barbados Conference is, in our view, the first real test of Agenda 21.

It may seem at times that we of the region of the Pacific islands are overly-preoccupied about our environment, and that we take too broad a view of the potential impact resulting from the actions of others. We raise our voices loudly and often on the subject of human-induced climate change and sea-level rise, but many say that it may not happen. We speak out against nuclear testing, especially in and among our islands, but those who are more powerful say that it probably is not harmful. We strongly urge that lethal toxic substances such as plutonium and chemical weapons not be transported through or stored within our region, but even some of our closest friends do so regardless, insisting that in all likelihood there is no danger. Are we too concerned? Are we naive? I believe that we are not, because the Pacific region appears to be a vast, thinly populated ocean area and thus a prime location for the dirty business of others - but that region is our home and our responsibility.

Not only must we provide for ourselves from its bounty, but we are also stewards of what is coming to be recognized in scientific circles as the last remaining great unspoiled natural resource of the planet. Our fisheries are plentiful, but they could be threatened if experiences elsewhere in the world are repeated. Our air is still clean, but we now know we are vulnerable to occurrences elsewhere. Our water is still pure, but we have seen other seas contaminated by unsustainable practices. We must, and will continue to, speak out.

Our region is not simply the victim of the callous disregard of the powerful for the consequences visited upon the poor or the weak. Rather, we recognize that for centuries mankind has regarded the vast oceans as free space, open to all passage and exploitation. Although exclusive economic zones and multilateral treaties have had major impact, the fact remains that the Pacific Ocean is today the world's ultimate "back yard".

My country's plea, then, is quite simple and straightforward. We call on all members of the world community to join us, in the spirit of Rio, in a true partnership for the sustainable development, not just of one or more Pacific island countries, but of our ocean and all that is in it. One important focus must, of course, be upon the land and coastal areas within our region, in order to accommodate appropriate development without degrading either the land or its surrounding marine space. But another, broader, focus must be on the ocean itself - to respect and build upon the growing scientific knowledge of its complex ecological systems.

It is well known that the Federated States of Micronesia, along with other low-lying island countries of the World, is literally frightened that its scarce land space may be made uninhabitable and ultimately disappear if even the moderate predictions of global warming and sea-level rise come to pass. But if this were the only concern with regard to human-induced climate change, loss of biodiversity and unsustainable development, we would be hard put to call upon the world at large to make fundamental changes in the way it lives. Ours, however, is by no means an isolated concern. As the South Pacific Forum Heads of Government have stressed for some years, the fate of the islands is an advance warning of things to come, as we have predicted.

Thanks to the trends that I discussed earlier in respect of the modern realignment of motivations for international cooperation, I have tremendous confidence that we, and our children and their children, will succeed not only in preserving the environment but also in maintaining the pace towards the ultimate goals of peace, enjoyment of human rights and social enrichment, as enshrined in the Charter. My country pledges its efforts within this great Organization, during this forty-eighth session of the General Assembly and afterwards, towards the attainment of these ends.

Mr. SAEMALA (Solomon Islands): Let me extend to you, Sir, the warm greetings of my Government and the people of Solomon Islands. We congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly at this forty-eighth session. Your experience, diplomatic skills and leadership assure us of a successful and fruitful session.

I also join in the tributes paid to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the affairs of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

We join, too, in acknowledging and commending the report (A/48/1) of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali, on the work of the Organization. The report is a comprehensive catalogue of the achievements of the United Nations, its strengths and weaknesses, the threats and opportunities the Organization faces and the challenges it has before it. All these point to one common truth: there is an undeniable disparity between idealism and reality,

between the mounting responsibilities of the Organization and its capacity to achieve pragmatic, focused and specific goals. The gap between promotion of the ideals of the Charter and realization of them continues to widen.

Over the last three weeks, we have heard Member States renewing their support for, and commitment to, this body. It is clear that the Organization is calling out for our attention. It needs us all, just as much as we need it; perhaps it now needs us more than ever before to strengthen it and enhance its performance in its delivery of services and goods to our many peoples around the globe.

Mr. President, your opening statement 22 days ago concluded with the visionary challenge, "We the peoples - united for a better world" *(A/48/PV.1)*. In the spirit of a family of nations, the United Nations will be celebrating this theme at its fiftieth anniversary in 1995. While Solomon Islands shares this vision, it counsels against extravagance, waste and mere symbolistic ceremonials which do not reflect long-term substantive benefits. To mark the occasion with serious reflection, education and communication, careful planning and a wider consultation programme at all levels of the international community will be essential. Awareness programmes and activities aimed at promoting the principle of unity in diversity should be a key to strength and wealth, both for nations and for the global community. A goal which can be promoted during the fiftieth-anniversary celebrations is that of world citizenship, or citizens of planet Earth.

The basis for this should be very simple: everyone living on this planet has a responsibility for its sustainable growth. Everyone must be aware of, and feel concerned at, the possibility of our destroying the planet. Individuals make up communities. Communities make up nations. Nations make up the global community. The global community lives on this planet.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Citizens of Planet Earth, or world citizenship, is a unifying vision of a peaceful, prosperous global society. This emerges from a sense of responsibility and the acceptance of the oneness of humanity. To embrace this vision of world citizenship into the twenty-first century, leaders and Governments must change their attitudes to take on the greatest challenge facing the world community - releasing the enormous financial, technical, human and moral resources required for the sustainable development of our planet. Can we collectively face this challenge in order to implement the various components of Agenda 21? The answer lies in the hands of the people and the nations of the world. How can we make this theme a reality - a reality not only for us at this time but also for future generations on this planet?

I was heartened to hear the President of the United States, Mr. Bill Clinton, say these words on the first day of the general debate:

> "The United States intends to remain engaged and to lead." *(A/48/PV.4, p. 8)*

He also went on to say:

> "... we must and will serve as a fulcrum for change and a pivot point for peace." *(ibid.)*

The Solomon Islands is currently working with the United Nations Development Programme on a pilot programme called "Children of Planet Earth" (COPE). COPE is an environmental educational-awareness programme aimed at primary-school children. It will be incorporated into the school curriculum as a module compulsory for all children. There will be no pass or fail grade, but any child who completes the module will get a United Nations badge or a certificate. The module will focus on the environment and on sustainable growth, and national, regional and international perspectives will be built into it. The Solomon Islands strongly believes that education with regard to the environment is important and deserves priority investment. The target group is the children, because they will be the leaders of tomorrow.

Two weeks ago, His Excellency Shimon Peres, Israeli Foreign Minister, described war and peace in this way:

> "In war, the old bury the young, and in peace, the young bury the old."

I thought this was quite revealing. It tells of a reality, a reality which has written a new chapter with a change of heart. The handshake between Palestine Liberation Organization leader Mr. Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Mr. Rabin on Capitol Hill symbolized a major milestone in Middle East history. The Solomon Islands welcomes this great advancement in human relations between these two nations. It is hoped that the process of creating forgiveness and trust will pave the way for lasting peace in the Middle East. I applaud the countries that have pledged financial assistance or assistance in kind to Palestine.

The forty-eighth session of the General Assembly opened at the dawn of a new era in South African history. African National Congress leader Mr. Nelson Mandela, renowned for his struggle against apartheid, made a moving statement at this very rostrum requesting the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa. To see Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk moving towards South Africa's first non-racial elections is an immense and promising change. At last, both leaders have decided to travel in the same bus of democracy. We too join the rest of the world in welcoming this first historic step towards majority rule in South Africa.

The parameters for the global agenda of the United Nations General Assembly have evolved slowly over the years. However, not only have agenda items changed from time to time, but they have increased in number as well. The issues before the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly fall into the following broad categories: first, making and keeping peace; second, arms controls and disarmament; third, economics and development; fourth, global resource management; fifth, human rights and other social issues; sixth, international legal issues; and seventh, financing and administration of the United Nations.

Each of these broad headings receives a thorough survey and analysis at every session of the General Assembly from both the developed and the developing parts of the globe. Some speakers focus specifically on certain issues, such as making and keeping peace, or arms control and disarmament; others draw the General Assembly's attention to such matters as economic development, global-resources management, human rights and other social issues. The debate so far has been interesting.

A quick overview of what has been said so far from this rostrum reveals a global picture that is both bright and gloomy. One truth, articulated by almost every speaker in the area of world peace and security is that the threat of conflicts between States has not diminished, even after the super-Power rivalry has been eroded. Senator Gareth Evans, the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, captured the question of world peace and security in a more imperative way when he addressed this Assembly at its 5th meeting, on 27 September. He referred to the resurgence of ethno-nationalism, which often takes a violent form, giving ethnic groups a claim to minority human rights protection as well as a claim to self-determination.

Speaking on behalf of the European Communities, Mr. Willy Claes, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium, patrolled the major trouble spots of the world in a memorandum attached to his statement. The Solomon Islands appreciates the efforts of the European Communities in resolving regional conflicts throughout the world and welcomes its commitment to world peace and security. The Balkan crisis has become a cryptic jigsaw puzzle. Human suffering continues. Peacemakers and peace-keepers have tried, and are still trying, to find a solution. The Solomon Islands deplores the atrocities committed and appeals to the nations with ways and means to bring peace to this region. As peace is being given a chance in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and the South Pacific regions, so may it be given a chance in the Balkan region.

In his address to the General Assembly on 28 September, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation referred to the Bosnian conflict and remarked:

> "... the key to the settlement of many conflicts has not yet been found." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eight Session, Plenary Meetings, 6th Meeting, p. 15*)

He also said:

> "In any case, it is surely time to think of establishing closer contacts between the United Nations and the world's leading religions." (*ibid., p. 15*)

It appears that there is a missing dimension to the approaches employed in conflict resolution.

As we consider the growing number of problems confronting our world, we cannot escape the feeling that the solutions will not simply be political, economic or social. In many cases, the problems are so complex and so deep-seated that we need superhuman help. A new prescription for true peace must include the development of the spiritual and pastoral well-being of all peoples around the world.

To this important extent, my Government recognizes, as its first principle,

> "the sovereignty of God as the basis of righteousness, justice and dignity in the development of the Solomon Islands and its people."

We realize that neither the individual nor society can achieve full potential without the help of Almighty God. If God is sovereign in the affairs of our world, would we not be wise to bring Him into the planning process as well as give Him a place in the resolution of conflicts, whether national, regional or global?

The question of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific, has been on the agenda of the United Nations for some time - but not for much longer, I hope. Solomon Islands joins its colleagues in the South Pacific region in endorsing the recent report on New Caledonia of the Ministerial Committee of the South Pacific Forum. As a member of that Committee, I hereby humbly express our appreciation and gratitude for the cooperation and support of the French and territorial authorities in facilitating the recent visit of Ministers to the Territory. My Government also reaffirms its strong support for the Committee's recommendations and renews its firm support for the aspirations and goals of the people of New Caledonia, including the Kanak community. We note the progress of the Matignon Accords, and, while sensitive to the varying and conflicting interpretations and expectations, we urge all parties to maintain their commitment to the Matignon process and to the promotion of economic, political and social development in New Caledonia.

The United Nations is a strong supporter of peace. This noble world body has, to date, supported the reunification of the two Germanys and of the two Koreas. In this context, reunification means only one thing - the uniting of people. Unification means peace and coexistence. Conflicts in areas around the world should be resolved through dialogue. Thus, we believe that the United Nations mechanism that was used in the case of Germany and in the case of the two Koreas should be applied to the situation involving the Republic of China and the People's Republic of China.

Solomon Islands recognizes the need for reunification of the two Chinas through good will and in good faith. We call on both to hold talks, on equal terms, on the basis of this important United Nations principle. But the process can be successful only if this world body considers the exceptional situation of the Republic of China on Taiwan in the international context, based on the principle of universality of membership and in accordance with the established model of parallel representation of divided countries at the United Nations.

Solomon Islands fully recognizes and strongly supports the wish of the people of the Republic of China to rejoin the United Nations. As a small, friendly nation with a population of only about 300,000, Solomon Islands firmly believes that the desire of the 21 million people of the Republic of China in Taiwan for their own representation in this world body is reasonable and justified. We are sure that the international community would benefit from the positive contribution that the Republic of China is capable of making to this Organization. Our own country has benefited, in the past 10 years, from the economic development and technological progress that the people of the Republic of China have secured through achieving for their country such a high position in the league of the industrialized nations. Solomon Islands therefore supports the call from other Member States for the establishment of an ad hoc committee to examine the question of the Republic of China rejoining the United Nations.

The mere existence of weapons of mass destruction poses a big threat to global peace and security. However, even more worrying is the potential proliferation of nuclear, chemical, biological and ballistic missiles - the danger of their falling into the wrong hands. We applaud the countries that have taken positive steps towards the elimination of these weapons. We also welcome the Secretary-General's report on new dimensions of arms regulation and disarmament in the post-cold-war era. We believe in the integration of arms-regulation efforts into the broader structure of international peace and security, the globalization of arms control and of the disarmament process and the revitalization of arms control. We strongly propose that the arms-control and disarmament agenda clearly reflect the realities of the post-cold-war era. This is the challenge for the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

Turning to nuclear testing in our region, I must say that our continuing desire and concern is to ensure that the South Pacific region remains a nuclear-free zone and a zone free of all types of radioactive waste. Solomon Islands therefore maintains its support for further suspension of nuclear testing in our region. We warmly welcome the decisions of the United States, Russia and France to extend their testing moratoriums. In this vein, owing to recent developments, we call upon China and the United Kingdom seriously to consider declaring similar moratoriums.

Solomon Islands is gravely concerned about the dumping of radioactive and other waste at sea. We therefore urge the States parties to the London Dumping Convention of 1972, when they adopt amendments in

November this year, to continue their active support for a total ban on such dumping.

The shipment of plutonium, with the danger that it poses to the fragile marine ecosystem of the South Pacific, is a matter of major concern to the Governments of the region. The highest international safety and security standards must be adhered to. Any nation engaging in this business must satisfactorily address all possible contingencies.

There is a clear message in statements issued by States members of the Group of 77. It points to the increasing connection between environmental concerns and developmental issues, to the delicate balance between the environment and development, between population and development, and between good government and development.

Member countries of the South Pacific Forum were well represented at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 1992. A principal outcome of the Rio Conference is Agenda 21 - an action plan for the 1990s and the twenty-first century. It sets forth strategies and integrated-programme measures to halt and reverse the effects of environmental degradation and to promote environmentally sound and sustainable development in all countries.

Once again Solomon Islands reaffirms its strong commitment to sustainable development. We believe that sound environmental practices constitute an integral part of the development process. Thus, all development activities pursued must be both economically and ecologically sound. The collective voice of small island developing States is heard through the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) which share unique circumstances, vulnerabilities and limitations. These include their small size and relative geographic remoteness, a narrow range of resources, severe population stress, sometimes minimal renewable fresh water resources, and high degrees of endemism. These pressures and limitations underscore the need for careful and sustainable management of resources to sustain future generations. This point was highlighted in our country's statement last year.

Solomon Islands, like its other South Pacific neighbours, continues to rely heavily, and in some cases totally, on the sea, the land, the rivers, the forests and the air around us for its livelihood and survival. Solomon Islands therefore attaches great importance to environmental issues and accords high priority to collective efforts in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development follow-up activities and the implementation of Agenda 21, including other, associated principles and conventions. Solomon Islands is a party to the Port Vila Declaration on Population and Sustainable Development. We therefore continue to support preparations for the forthcoming two major Conferences in 1994 - the Barbados Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the Cairo World Conference on Population and Development.

Solomon Islands is one of the few countries in the South Pacific that now has a national environment management strategy endorsed by the Government. That strategy is now in the implementation phase, in which priority areas for action at the national level have been identified.

Human-induced climate change and its subsequent effect of sea-level rise is perhaps the most intractable threat to human well-being and the survival of many species on Earth. The South Pacific is no exception. Solomon Islands is a signatory of the Framework Convention on Climate Change and will soon complete the necessary requirements for its ratification. The formalities for the ratification of the Montreal Protocol are under way. We warmly welcome the speedy action of the United Nations in establishing a Commission on Sustainable Development and, in particular, we welcome the acceptance of the South Pacific Forum secretariat as a special representative to the Commission and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) as an observer in the Commission.

Solomon Islands applauds the initiative taken by the Government of Papua New Guinea in putting forward, through the United Nations system, the agenda item on opportunity and participation. The adverse economic changes in recent years have created difficult circumstances for many small countries. There is a need to identify options in order to make possible participation by Governments and peoples of developing countries on an equal footing. Solomon Islands welcomes the proposal in the Papua New Guinea initiative for the establishment of a panel of experts to study and recommend ways of increasing opportunity and participation for developing countries.

Speaking about Papua New Guinea, I should like to convey Solomon Islands' profound appreciation to the United Nations for the goodwill mission it sent last year to discuss the problems we had encountered at the border

between Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. I am happy to report that the new Solomon Islands Government, through its six-point initiative, is working constructively with its neighbour, Papua New Guinea, to find a lasting peaceful solution to the problems at our border.

Proper management and good fishing practices are essential for the sustainable use of marine living resources. The major income earner of Solomon Islands is fisheries. Solomon Islands supports the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. Preparations for its ratification are being considered. The Solomon Islands Government strongly supports the work of the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) and appeals to distant-water fishing nations to cooperate with the management and conservation measures stipulated by that Agency.

The new Government of Solomon Islands has just officially launched its blueprint document entitled, "Statement of Policies". The Government's philosophy of where and how to steer the country over the next four years is laid out in this document. The Government is embarking on a major programme of economic and social reforms aimed at attaining sustainable development. The ministries responsible are currently discussing and putting together a programme of structural adjustment. The programme emphasizes the sustainable management of natural resources, public-sector reforms and the promotion of private-sector development. It devotes particular attention to the sizes and costs of institutions, and outlines proposals for the redeployment of resources to areas of production and need. The preparation of this programme is expected to be completed by November 1993.

While this exercise is considered to be a long-term viable undertaking, it is necessary to seek external assistance. The Government of Solomon Islands is fully committed to this long-overdue reform, but appeals to international financial institutions and donors to provide financial assistance and advice.

On human rights, the Solomon Islands Government fully supports the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action which were the outcome of the World Conference on Human Rights held from 14 to 25 June 1993. Fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual are listed in chapter II, sections 3 to 19 of our national Constitution. We condemn any violation of human rights anywhere in the world. We also join the rest of the world in the promotion of human rights and support those who have spoken in favour of the establishment of a post of high commissioner for human rights. Such a post would indeed be a worthwhile investment.

Solomon Islands also salutes the work and courage of those countries that contribute troops and humanitarian assistance to trouble-spots all over the world. We pray for the souls of those who have died in the field. We strongly deplore the actions of those who have committed atrocities against peace-keepers, Red Cross workers and associated personnel. Solomon Islands therefore strongly supports New Zealand's initiative in requesting the inscription on the General Assembly's agenda of the critical item on the safety of personnel in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The United Nations Charter has now been physically reduced to a pocket-sized booklet, but the demands the nations of the world place on this global Organization outstrip the limits of its capabilities and the resources at its disposal. Perhaps this is a positive sign - a justification of the need for its continuing existence.

A few more flags have been added at the United Nations this year. We warmly welcome the new Members of the United Nations family and congratulate their Governments and peoples on taking this courageous step.

In 1945 the founders of the United Nations saw the need to set up this body. Today, we are challenged in no uncertain terms to ensure that the work that was begun 48 years ago continues, to keep the Organization alive, relevant, meaningful and cost effective. It is the only hope for world peace and security and for the promotion of democracy, development and global-resource management. Member States request the Organization to be accountable, and so we Member States too must return to it our individual due responsibilities.

May the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations bring a new dawn to human relations between all peoples around the world.

ADDRESS BY MR. GIRIJA PRASAD KOIRALA, PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal.

Mr. Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal, was escorted to the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT: I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal, His Excellency The Right Honourable Girija Prasad Koirala, and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

Mr. KOIRALA (Nepal): I have the honour to convey to the General Assembly greetings from the people and Government of Nepal and the best wishes of His Majesty King Birenda Bir Bikram Shah Dev for the success of its forty-eighth session.

As I stand before members today, my thoughts go back to 1960, when the first elected Prime Minister of Nepal, the late B.P. Koirala, addressed the Assembly and declared that the foreign policy of Nepal was inspired by the purposes and principles of the United Nations. He said then that Nepal looked upon the Organization as an instrument for promoting peace and justice among nations.

The late Prime Minister's visit to the United Nations was an event of historic significance for Nepal. A revolutionary transformation had then taken place in my country. As a result, a conscious and coherent foreign policy, with centrality given to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, had started to take shape.

Similar revolutionary changes again took place in my country in 1990, after a gap of more than three decades. In accordance with the wishes of our people, multiparty democracy has been restored in Nepal. Now there is a constitutional guarantee of human rights and fundamental freedoms. As the second elected Prime Minister to address this body, after 33 years, I must say that this moment has a deep personal overtone for me.

Restoration of multiparty democracy and respect for fundamental human rights does not necessarily mean that we have solved all our problems. The expectations of the people are naturally high, but the means at our disposal are extremely limited.

Faced with such problems, my Government has been making every effort to ensure a better standard of living for our people in larger freedom. Our development plans are based on the premise that it is the individual citizen and not the State which has the right to development. Along with economic liberalization, we are pursuing a people-oriented development policy focused on poverty alleviation. To achieve our goals we have increased investments in human-priority areas. Given the enormous constraints upon us, ranging from lack of resources to the high cost of infrastructure, a shortage of skilled personnel and institutional deficiencies, our problems are daunting. We look forward to greater understanding from donor countries and multilateral agencies in helping us to implement our people-oriented development programmes, in upgrading local skills and in building the capacity to accelerate human development.

The foreign policy of Nepal is guided by the objective of ensuring its sovereignty, political independence and national security while promoting international peace and cooperation. Inspired by the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the policy of non-alignment, and respect for human rights, we seek friendship and cooperation with all countries of the world, and in particular with our neighbours. We have reason to be satisfied with the excellent relations we enjoy with the countries in our immediate neighbourhood. We are partners with our friends in South Asia in an effort to forge a mutually beneficial scheme of cooperation for the welfare of our people under the aegis of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.

With the sudden end of the cold war the world is at the threshold of a new era of shared responsibility for global peace and development. The post-cold-war world is very much in need of order, but it is a world that cannot be ordered by military and economic Powers alone. At this time of historic transition, political leadership in all countries must show a higher order of statesmanship. It is time to shed old prejudices and parochialism. We should be able to pool the best of every civilization and culture for the greater good of mankind.

Changes in international relations have also created opportunities to devise new partnership in global responsibility. The world today is poised to consider new approaches to international law based not on unilateralism but on multilateralism. The United Nations is an organization of the powerful and the weak, the large and the small, the wealthy and the poor, each contributing its share to the common interest. It is in the interest of all to make the United Nations an effective and influential agent of constructive change in a turbulent world.

If the United Nations is to fulfil its Charter obligations it must deal with the root causes of conflicts and instability. The mechanisms and processes at its disposal

for achieving that goal must be strengthened and refined. In this context, there are four areas which demand immediate attention: first, international cooperation to combat poverty; secondly, strengthening of the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security; thirdly, progressive reduction and finally elimination of weapons of mass destruction and, fourthly, universalization of human rights.

Democracy and human rights are easily eroded when widespread poverty prevails. Poverty undermines human dignity, contributes to environmental degradation and undermines the cohesion of a society. It also poses a lasting threat to peace and stability. The search for collective security cannot, therefore, be separated from the sustained efforts to improve the economic and social conditions of peoples everywhere. Agenda 21, adopted at the Rio Conference on Environment and Development, is a comprehensive blueprint for sustainable development. To turn that vision into reality there is an urgent need for resumption of the North-South dialogue and for economic cooperation between developing nations.

The President returned to the Chair.

In this context, I look forward to the Secretary-General's agenda for development. We sincerely hope that an agenda for development will form the basis of accelerating international cooperation to the mutual benefit of developed and developing countries alike. The upcoming International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women should also be occasions to focus on the human dimensions of socio-economic problems.

In speaking of social and economic issues, I recall the initiative taken by countries of South Asia under the aegis of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation to work together for the cause of children. That initiative provided the major motivation for the holding of the World Summit for Children. The mid-decade review in 1995 must be an occasion to evaluate the implementation of the promises the international community made to children at the World Summit. Despite conflicting demands on our limited resources, we in Nepal are allocating an increasing portion of our national budget to child and maternal health and welfare and on other basic human-services areas. We are in favour of the proposal for matching resource allocations by donor countries for such national initiatives.

The dramatic increase in the demands on and heightened expectations of the United Nations is nowhere more compelling than in the area of peace and security. With experience spanning over 35 years in United Nations missions, Nepal welcomes the expansion in the mandates of peace-keeping operations. The recent successes of the missions in El Salvador and Cambodia are testimony to the potential of a United Nations operation with a clearly defined and practicable mandate. The joint venture of the United Nations and the Organization of American States in Haiti is breaking newer ground in international cooperation to restore a democratically elected Government and to protect and promote human rights.

Without minimizing the enormity of the problems the United Nations has to take into account in Somalia, I feel that the emphasis on military action will overshadow the larger goal of the mission in that country. I urge the redoubling of efforts to seek lasting political solutions to the problems in Somalia.

I appeal to the parties concerned in Bosnia and Herzegovina to respond immediately to the successive resolutions of the Security Council and halt the senseless carnage of innocent people. The continuing tragedy in the territory of the former Yugoslavia presents a test-case for viable cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the maintenance of peace and security.

Nepal will continue to support the further development of preventive diplomacy by the Secretary-General and the Security Council. In the maintenance of peace and security, the implementation of enforcement measures under the Charter should be the step of last resort. It should be the exception to rather than the rule of the game. The real strength of collective security lies in the ability to implement the provisions of the Charter relating to peaceful settlement of disputes.

The grounds for the intervention of the Security Council have also raised questions of consistency. As the principal organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council must act in an even-handed and impartial manner and must be perceived as doing so.

The recent comments of the Secretary-General on the financial situation of the Organization should be a cause of concern to all. Investments in peace-keeping, peacemaking and preventive diplomacy are investments in collective

stability. It is not possible for the United Nations to play its role without adequate resources.

Along with other non-aligned countries, Nepal has always subscribed to the call for a more active United Nations role in arms control and disarmament. Since mutual fear is the source of any arms race, confidence-building measures must be seriously pursued in order to achieve the goals of disarmament. Nations should pursue a culture of ensuring security at the lowest possible level of armaments. Successes in bilateral negotiations on nuclear weapons, conventional forces in Europe and chemical weapons prove that it is a feasible goal.

Nepal deems it extremely significant that all five nuclear-weapon States are now parties to the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty. We have long advocated an early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Meaningful progress in this area will have important implications for the review and extension Conference on the non-proliferation Treaty.

Protection of human rights has emerged as an important factor in the development of friendly relations among States. The United Nations must spare no effort in establishing an international norm of human rights. The World Conference on Human Rights was a major step in this direction. Human rights cannot be secure without a universal conscience on the part of all peoples to uphold each other's rights in full understanding of the just demands of the individual, the community, the State and the international order. Human rights cannot be secured unless there is an absolute freedom from fear from any source. There is a direct correlation between the status of human rights, the democratic process and an evolution of a culture of peaceful settlement of disputes. The threat to peace is the greatest when human rights are denied.

The world is at a vital turning-point. The old order has come to an end while the new has yet to take shape. While some old contradictions persist and new ones appear, some unexpected bright areas have also dawned. Nepal welcomes the agreement reached by the negotiating parties in South Africa to hold an election in April 1994. We share the deep concern of the international community over the continued violence which threatens the peaceful transition of South Africa to a non-racial democratic society.

Nepal has long enjoyed friendship with both the Israeli and the Palestinian peoples. We welcome the Declaration of Principles as well as the exchange of letters of mutual recognition between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The statesmanship shown by the leaders of Israel and the PLO promises a new beginning for the Middle East and, indeed, the world. We earnestly hope that this historic breakthrough will facilitate the search for a comprehensive and lasting solution of the Middle East problem.

As I come towards the end of my statement, I wish to extend to you, Sir, my hearty congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at a time when the United Nations is passing through a very important phase in its history. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to Mr. Stoyan Ganev for his stewardship of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

I must also take this opportunity to pay our warmest tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. His efforts to reform and strengthen the United Nations with the courage of conviction have been universally appreciated. We are impressed by his vision and dynamism, which are necessary for the United Nations to cope with the new realities and challenges of our time. Mr. Boutros-Ghali was a well-known figure in my country even before he became the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We consider him to be a sincere friend of Nepal.

Although small in military and economic strength, Nepal is fully alive to its responsibilities as a Member of this world Organization. Nepal will not hesitate to take an independent and objective stand in favour of larger good and justice. For us, the Charter of the United Nations captures the highest ideals of mankind. I take this opportunity to rededicate the commitment of the people and the Government of Nepal to the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Girija Prasad Koirala, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Nepal, was escorted from the rostrum.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. Barrow (Belize): The delegation of Belize takes immense pride, Sir, in your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. This is the first time in the history of the Organization that a Commonwealth Caribbean national has been chosen to superintend the deliberations of the General Assembly. Your election is, thus, not only the highest tribute that could have been paid you, but is also the accomplishment of your country, Guyana, and of the wider Commonwealth Caribbean. As a part of the latter, Belize may be forgiven for any note of self-congratulation that creeps into the encomiums we heap upon you today.

In that regard - and we say this only slightly with tongue in cheek - we note that almost your first act of wisdom upon assuming office was the selection of a very excellent Belizean as presidential spokesperson.

Let me at this time also record my delegation's appreciation of the most able manner in which the outgoing President, Mr. Stoyan Ganev, conducted the work of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

In addition, may I take the opportunity to welcome formally to the United Nations family the six countries - the Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, the Slovak Republic, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Andorra - which have joined the Organization this year.

Allow me also to offer, on behalf of the people and the Government of Belize, our deep sympathy to the people and the Government of India for the heavy death toll and considerable material loss caused by the devastating earthquake on 30 September.

Over the five years since I last appeared in this Hall, many things have changed in the world. In Belize we, too, have experienced change. On 30 June 1993 the people of Belize voted, through peaceful elections, for a new government. Once more we have demonstrated the stability of our democratic institutions and the maturity of our polity. In an age when the so-called global trend towards democratization seems at times to be a process that moves one step forward and two steps back, we in Belize are justly proud of our record.

In these five years, some of the changes occurring in the global prospect have been favourable, and many of these are attributable to this Organization, which, under its distinguished Secretary-General, has been striving to fulfil the mandate of its Charter and find ways and means to cope with problems not necessarily envisaged by the framers of that Charter.

In the brief *tour d'horizon* of the international scene which I shall undertake today, the first matter I wish to address is peace and security. We are very gratified by the positive developments that have occurred in several places. Uppermost in our minds is our own subregion of Central America. There we have been heartened by the movement of several of our neighbours towards reconciliation and social justice.

In particular, we note with satisfaction that the brief hiccup of the events in the Republic of Guatemala in May and June does not appear to have seriously flawed that country's efforts at permanent redemocratization. We are happy that the new government there has publicly confirmed Guatemala's recognition of sovereign and independent Belize. Diplomatic relations between our two countries can once again proceed apace; and we shall continue the work for the preservation of bilateral and regional security and the search for a lasting solution to the issues that still bedevil us. In accordance with the principles enunciated by this Organization, such a solution must be on the basis of mutual respect for peace, for the rights of both countries to self-determination and for the integrity of each other's land and sea territory.

In the Caribbean we have hopes that the long-suffering people of Haiti will be rewarded by the return of its legitimate government.

Recent developments in South Africa are clearly very encouraging, and we are confident of the success of the transition to majority rule, which will be heralded by the non-racial elections scheduled for April 1994.

Then, in the midst of continued strife in the Middle East, we believe we see positive signs of the way forward with the dramatic opening between the people of Palestine and the State of Israel. At long last there seems a real possibility of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination coexisting with the State of Israel's right to safe and secure borders.

We welcome the finalization of the demarcation of the boundary between Kuwait and Iraq, which was

accomplished by the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission on 20 May 1993. We also welcome the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 833 (1993), in which it guaranteed the inviolability of the boundary between the two States.

Encouraging, too, has been the consolidation of the broad consultative mechanisms for confidence-building, security, human rights and cooperation originally established for Europe in the Helsinki Conference and now substantially expanded. Such structures have considerable value, and we understand that our colleagues in the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are in the process of developing a similar mechanism with a distinct ASEAN character. Above all, we commend the Secretary-General for his vision in "An Agenda for Peace".

Despite all these promising developments, however, the overall outlook for world security remains bleak. In far too many places the peace is disrupted by fratricidal struggle. Everywhere the crushing burden of armaments - to employ a famous expression used by President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in 1941 - bids to drive our planet off its established course. The Second World War was partly fought, and this great Organization was largely established, to eradicate programmes of ethnic genocide. Now, nearly 50 years after the birth of the United Nations, we are experiencing several such programmes on a massive scale.

I urge that during this session we take the first major step to right these imbalances, which affect global peace and security. Just as the Helsinki model is one way forward, we hope that another is the International Tribunal on war crimes, the judges of which this Assembly recently elected.

Among other steps which might be taken are the following: Governments must forswear profiteering from the sale or sponsorship of the sale of armaments. There must be an expansion of regional and subregional systems of cooperation and coordination in the cognate areas of security, narcotics interdiction and counter-terrorism. This body must make firm recommendations for the development and rigid enforcement of domestic neutrality laws everywhere. Likewise, the international law relating to neutrality must be thoroughly modernized to proscribe and severely punish trafficking in arms. This must be not only in situations of belligerency, but also in cases of insurgency, rebellion and other armed conflict, both internal and international. The recent salutary reinvigoration of this Organization's peace-keeping mechanisms must be furthered.

This is a time when the United Nations is increasingly being called upon to act as a peacemaker in troubled and turbulent regions of the world. It is to the Organization's credit that it has risen to the occasion by undertaking complex and challenqinq assignments around the globe.

There was a time when United Nations peace-keeping forces could successfully be composed of contingents from the so-called third world countries. But recent experience has now shown that large and difficult operations of the Bosnia and Somalia type stand little chance of success without the active participation of major Powers. In this context, we welcome President Clinton's speech in this session of the Assembly, offering to commit United States troops to the United Nations Bosnia operation under certain conditions.

Yet there is still a role for small States. And we in Belize would be prepared to offer training facilities to the Organization as a contribution to increasing the efficiency of peace-keeping forces. This would be in accordance with Article 43 of the Charter, which calls for member Governments to make available to the Security Council "assistance and facilities ... necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security". Needless to say, we would be happy to make our contribution in concert with other countries in our area. Either pre-existing regional security mechanisms and/or new bilateral and multilateral arrangements might serve as the vehicle for small country efforts at cooperation.

As a backdrop to all this, the provisions of the Charter relative to peacemaking must be strengthened. In particular, a standing United Nations force under unified United Nations command should be considered and the Military Staff Committee must be made fully operational. In keeping with the Secretary-General's quest to improve efficiencies, strict military discipline of United Nations forces must be established and there must be improved coordination at Headquarters and in the field.

The most important of the steps which my Government believes should be taken is reform of the Security Council. It is self-evident that in these times of turmoil and increased United Nations activity the agenda item of equitable representation on, and increase in membership of, the Council looms large. Belize has recently submitted a paper to the Secretary-General, detailing our ideas on this all-important topic.

I wish to turn next to international cooperation. I believe that there exists an international legal obligation to cooperate in good faith. It is anticipated in the Articles on principles and purposes and other provisions of the United Nations Charter, and is reiterated in such Declarations as the friendly relations Declaration of 1970 and the 1974 Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. I will address the question of economic cooperation at a later stage in my remarks. At this point, I wish to train the spotlight on cooperation in the area of ecospheric concerns.

As regards the ecosphere, Belize considers that the early and universal ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is of paramount importance. It will be recalled that the Convention imposes myriad duties of cooperation. In that way, the weak, and not only the strong and mighty, will inherit the Earth and its waters.

We have seen two recent examples of successful efforts at cooperation in the ecosphere. The first involves the ozone layer. In that connection, intensive cooperation by Governments and by private industry, pursuant to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, as amended, has led to a significant decline in the rate of expansion of the hole in the ozone layer.

My other example is the cooperation of foreign and domestic agencies with the Governments of my country, Belize and Costa Rica, which has contributed to substantial success in our conservation efforts. Cognizant of these successes, we appeal for intensive cooperation in all aspects of the ecosphere, including the termination of ocean and terrestrial dumping, the halt of desertification and the reduction of the causes of global warming. We also hope for a concrete programme of action at next April's Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States to be held in Barbados.

One area in which we must redouble our efforts at cooperation is the moral environment. In numerous Member countries the people have clamoured for cessation of corrupt practices in government and business, both national and international. Now, we are extremely happy to observe that the Secretary-General has established the new post of Assistant Secretary-General for Inspections and Investigations. In so doing, he has made it clear that the moral environment of our organization must be sanitized. We must support him in this endeavour. At the same time, we lend our voice to those who call for the accountability of all inter-governmental organizations to independent auditors and inspectors.

My Government attaches the greatest importance to integrity and decency in public life. We applaud such international efforts as the forthcoming anti-corruption conference to be held in Mexico later this year to plan national strategies for fighting corruption. And we in Belize have recently taken our own action to strengthen the legal infrastructure necessary to banish the scourge of political corruption. In just three months since taking office, we have introduced four major pieces of legislation in our Parliament. They are the Prevention of Corruption in Public Life Bill, the Ombudsman Bill, the Contractor General Bill and the Freedom of Information Bill. This last, as far as we can determine, is the only one of its kind in the entire Commonwealth Carribean. These measures bear testimony to my Government's determination to wage a total war on corruption and to make Belize the model of a just, honest and democratic society.

I turn next to issues relating to international development and economic relations. For over 30 years, the Organization has painstakingly sought to spell out that the right to development and the duty of the privileged to assist the underprivileged are firmly based in international law and public policies. This right and duty were part of the "freedom from want" principle, one of the founding principles of the 1942 wartime coalition that was the first to be called the "United Nations". Freedom from want had nothing to do with ideology and great-Power rivalry. Nevertheless, there have been dramatic ideological, geopolitical and economic changes during the late 1980s. As these changes have occurred, needs have increased but resources have not. Yet we have heard rumours that various initiatives to bring economic justice to this planet are no longer necessary.

I respectfully suggest that nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, such controversial movements as the one to establish a new international economic order were merely, as we have intimated, the reiteration of an established principle. That is, those initiatives were the renewal of an order, not a new order. Furthermore, in the original Somalia intervention, we see strong confirmation of the continuing vitality of the principle of "freedom from want" - for all of us will remember that the avowed objective of the current exercises in that beleaguered country was to bring food, comfort and succour to its suffering people.

Thus, I believe, we are seeing the reaffirmation of freedom from want as a human right. At the same time, I would urge the Assembly to take firm steps to ensure that

food no longer be used as a weapon by parties to civil and international conflicts.

In all this we are acutely aware of the shift in world trading patterns brought on by the formation of new trading blocs. The most recent and prominent of these are of course the North American Free Trade Agreement among Mexico, the United States of America and Canada, and the Single European Market. And so, in some areas at least, the march towards wider trade liberalization and true market economy moves inexorably forward. But we in the South also see that our economies and life as we know them are threatened by these developments; our preferential access to markets steadily erodes and our terms of trade consistently worsen.

What we are in fact concerned about here is the pressure to open up our borders prematurely to the free flow of agricultural and other products from the more developed countries. It is a bitter pill to swallow, even as we watch the protectionist squabbling among developed countries that has prevented the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral trade negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Of course, it would also result in massive economic dislocation followed inevitably by social and political unrest in our countries.

Nevertheless, we acknowledge that we must in the long run identify alternative commodities that we can produce efficiently and with comparative advantage. I must stress, however, that we are hard pressed to find the resources required for comprehensive research, development and promotion programmes for new products. We must be afforded an adequate transition period to adjust our economic and production activities. I would wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to call on the countries members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to identify and dedicate significant financial and technical resources to assist small countries in developing alternative products. Of course, current trends in official and private financial flows to the developing world suggest that this is a cry that will fall largely on deaf ears.

On a more positive note, permit me at this juncture to applaud the apparent resolve of the United Nations organs for development assistance to improve their efforts at coordination. In this connection, I single out for special mention the Secretary- General's ongoing formulation of an agenda for development and the determined spirit of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to strengthen its mission and revamp its machinery. This, however, is but a beginning of what must be a crusade for development.

The last set of issues I shall address are social, political, cultural and humanitarian. First, we must do much more to ensure that women are accorded their proper rights in the domestic and international orders. No longer should we merely echo the litany that women's development is indispensable for economic development. We must ensure that women are accorded equal rights in all spheres. Furthermore, they must urgently be given equal representation in our political, social, cultural and other institutions. Again, I take note of the recent efforts of this Organization to improve the position of women in the upper echelons of the United Nations Secretariat.

As regards refugees, it would be disingenuous to call for their enhanced protection without acknowledging the severe problems which host countries increasingly face. For instance, we in Belize do the best we can, but overcrowding a slender raft - even in a relative haven of calm - can bring dire consequences to all its occupants.

Nevertheless, I am happy to report to this Assembly that Belize's record of human rights is good and worthy of emulation. Our Constitution is founded on the principles of justice and respect for the fundamental freedoms of all our people, and our laws and practices fully conform to the mandate of our Constitution.

The international scourge of narcotics continues unabated. Again, we add our voices to those who urge that at least the same degree of attention be given to curbing demand and improving public health, as to addressing supply. Narcotics, terrorism and urban violence are all gross manifestations of an awful cancer seeking to engulf our planet. One clear contributor to this is the mass and universal culture, or what passes for culture, purveyed by the moguls of television. While we welcome the utility of the new global news channels, we lament the other, baneful, influences to which our people are subjected by some aspects of worldwide programming. It is high time that this Organization tackle this problem.

Finally, as regards human riqhts and humanitarian law, even over the brief period of five years since I last addressed this body, we have witnessed significant expansion in the activities of the Commission on Human Rights and the bodies established under the various United Nations instruments for the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms. We have seen this Organization, on

invitation, participate in monitoring and conducting elections and, in the unprecedented case of Cambodia, actually administer a country prior to the holding of democratic elections. Yet the basic rights of human beings in numerous places are still seriously impaired. Many of those who should protect, in fact violate. And conferences, tribunals and conventions bring scarce relief.

In the realm of humanitarian law, we are hopeful that the International Tribunal on war crimes will set a healthy precedent. Nevertheless, we view with increasing concern the flouting of the Geneva regime, especially the 1977 Protocols applicable to various forms of civil strife. That regime is the other side of the coin of human rights. Whichever side comes up when that coin is tossed, it comes up tarnished.

Clearly, despite a somewhat mixed record, the United Nations is no moribund organization. Nevertheless, as it nears its golden jubilee, it does require additional impetus, a more focused consensus for reform and revitalization. Let all of us, then, as we go about the business of this forty-eighth session, bear well in mind the words of the Preamble to the Charter and accordingly pledge our rededication to the task of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, reaffirming faith in fundamental human rights and equality, and creating the moral climate in which justice and international law will finally prevail.

Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is with pleasure that I convey to Your Excellency at the outset of my statement, our sincerest congratulations on your election to the Presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election reflects appreciation for you personally, as well as for the positive role played by your country in the international arena. I wish you every success in the pursuit of your mission.

On this occasion, I also wish to congratulate your predecessor for his effective guidance of the affairs of the General Assembly at its previous session.

I also wish to acknowledge the sincere efforts constantly exerted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to enhance the prospects for peace and reduce the elements of tension which prevail in many parts of the world.

I am also pleased to welcome, on behalf of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, all the States that have joined our Organization to participate, along with all other Member States, in realizing the noble objectives towards which we all strive.

This session of the General Assembly takes place amidst important developments in the international arena that require us to strive to conclude our work with successful resolutions on the problems and crises we face. These resolutions must be within the context of our efforts to benefit from the opportunities provided by the emergence of what has come to be known as the new international order.

We have all contributed, through the United Nations to establishing the new international order, the foundations of which are based on the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and inherent in international law. This new order respects the sovereignty and independence of States and guarantees the inviolability of their international borders. It guarantees the territorial integrity of States and rejects interference in their domestic affairs. It is based on equity among nations, small and large, rich and poor, and its goal is to replace war and destruction with cooperation between nations and peoples. The new international order strives for the peaceful resolution of conflict and rejects the use of force or coercion. It operates to preserve the dignity of man and to spread security, stability, prosperity and development to all corners of our world.

The emergence of this new order has been a source of hope and optimism for the international community, particularly when serious and constructive international cooperation succeeded in confronting the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait. Today, however, we are saddened and pained by the inability of this order to confront the aggression committed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a State Member of our international Organization. This crisis, if not resolved in a manner compatible with the principles of the new world order, will cause this new order to lose its credibility and effectiveness. We therefore call for enhancing the role of the United Nations from one of mere crisis management and maintenance of peace to one of active and effective peacemaking.

A general overview of the current international situation reveals that there remain pockets of tension which threaten security and stability in many regions of the world. With the persistence of such challenges, the role of the United Nations is becoming increasingly important, not only for the maintenance of peace, but as an effective means for creating conditions conducive to peace and

stability throughout the world. Without a doubt, the creation of such conditions will be made much easier if the opportunities for cooperation between nations are increased and support for the United Nations is strengthened so that the Organization may function in a manner that would guarantee that no country commits aggression against another or threatens its security, sovereignty or territorial integrity.

The honourable role played by the United Nations more than three years ago when it stood firmly in the face of Iraq's aggression against its neighbour Kuwait, and the resolutions it adopted led in the end to repelling aggression and restoring legality to Kuwait the peace-loving nation. This positive role portrays our expectations of this international body in the present circumstances. We hope that it will continue to be played and ask that it be enhanced by efforts to ensure the complete implementation of all Security Council resolutions regarding the Iraqi regime, which continues to flout international legality. Two years after the liberation of Kuwait, the Baghdad regime continues to resort to threats and false allegations against Kuwait. It continues to delay efforts to implement United Nations resolutions and rejects all international obligations. We point in particular to the Iraqi regime's objections to the recommendations of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission and its rejection of Security Council resolution 833 (1993), as well as its continued detention of Kuwaiti hostages and prisoners of war. This regime has arrogated the right, on the basis of sovereignty, to starve and abuse its people and subject Iraq to dangers which threaten its unity and security. It falsely blames the international community for the dangers and tragedies to which Iraq and its people have become subject. The surest way of facing up to the threats this regime poses to the region as a whole, and to the Iraqi people is to fully and completely implement Security Council resolutions.

The Declaration of Principles between the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Israeli Government, signed in Washington, D.C. on 13 September 1993, has raised expectations and hopes that a just and permanent settlement can be found to the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has persisted for far too long. This development, though representing only an agreement on autonomy in the occupied Palestinian territories, beginning with Gaza and Jericho, nevertheless represents a step towards the establishment of a just, comprehensive and permanent peace between the Arab States and Israel. A solution to the Palestinian question will obviously contribute to a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict as it is the core issue of that conflict.

The warm welcome with which the Palestinian-Israeli agreement was received within Palestinian, Arab and international circles genuinely and clearly reflects the desire of the Arabs to establish a permanent, just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. It also indicates the seriousness with which the Arab side has pursued the current peace process, which was launched in Madrid in October 1991 under the sponsorship of the United States of America and the Russian Federation.

As we witness today the optimism generated by the Palestinian-Israeli agreement, we cannot but feel that it is incumbent upon the international community to lend support to the progress that has been achieved in this area by providing the necessary economic and developmental assistance required to build the administrative structures needed to make the agreement on self-rule succeed. At the same time, it is also incumbent upon us to work diligently to exploit the momentum generated by this agreement in furthering the cause of peace.

The consolidation of this step requires the achievement of tangible and positive results in the areas of negotiation between Palestinians and Israelis; at the forefront of those are the issue of Al-Quds, which is an integral part of the occupied Arab territories, the issue of the return of Palestinian refugees, and the settlements built by Israel in the occupied Arab territories contrary to international law and the Geneva Conventions. At the same time, genuine progress along all the other bilateral negotiating tracks is needed.

The issue of the occupied Arab Syrian Golan Heights is clear: it is governed by the principle of respect for international borders. The maintenance of security is not feasible, as the realities of contemporary history teach us, through the occupation of territory by force, but rather through the establishment of peace. Thus, peace on this front will be achieved only by a complete Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Golan Heights.

Likewise, the Lebanese-Israeli negotiating track is governed by United Nations Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which clearly calls for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory.

I wish to express the appreciation of the Government of the Custodian of the two holy mosques to President

Clinton for his prudent initiative in calling for, and hosting, an international donors' conference to solicit political and financial support for the Palestinians as they prepare to assume the responsibilities of self-rule in the occupied territories. I also wish to take this opportunity to express our pleasure at the positive results achieved at that conference.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has given, and continues to give, its full support in all possible forms to the Middle East peace process since it began in Madrid. It has participated effectively in the multilateral talks, and genuinely hopes that the process will lead to a just, permanent and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian question and the Arab conflict with Israel on the basis of United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

Despite the financial burdens the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia bears in building an advanced economy in which the expectations of its citizens for a better future are fulfilled, and despite its current international obligations at a time of difficulty in the international economic system, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia participated in the international donors' conference that recently concluded its meetings in Washington.

The Custodian of the two holy mosques has bestowed upon me the honour of announcing the Kingdom's commitment to providing substantial developmental assistance to improve the infrastructures in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in coordination and cooperation with the World Bank's special five-year programme for the occupied territories. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will participate, through the Saudi development fund, to the tune of $100 million for the year 1994. We believe that this assistance will improve the living conditions of our Palestinian brethren in the occupied Arab territories and contribute positively to the peace process.

The Lebanese Government has made great strides in its efforts to implement the Taif Accords, and has taken the necessary political and constitutional measures to achieve this aim. We must continue our support for the efforts of the legitimate Lebanese authorities and contribute to the process of reconstruction in Lebanon.

In this regard, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia appeals to the international community to help Lebanon by all available means in order to enable its Government to continue moving forward with the process of reconstruction and allow Lebanon to regain its material and cultural position.

It is important to reiterate the need, if this goal is to be achieved, for an Israeli commitment to implement, fully and unconditionally, United Nations Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which requires Israel to withdraw from Lebanese territory to enable the Lebanese Government to extend its legal authority over all Lebanon.

We should like to emphasize our desire for the Middle East region to obtain its legitimate share of security, peace and stability so that it is able to direct all its energies towards development and devote all its resources towards prosperity for its people.

One of the most important tasks facing us in this respect is to strive towards the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a signatory to the Convention on the non-proliferation of chemical weapons and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We continue to believe that the goal of making the Middle East a region free of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction, whether nuclear, chemical or biological, will be realized only when all States in the region, including Israel, refrain from the production, stockpiling, or possession of any kind of weapon of mass destruction.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is being aggravated by the continuation of a genocidal war waged by Serb forces, with the support of Serbia and Montenegro, against that young Republic. The continuing tragedy of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has resulted in the death of thousands of innocent civilians and the displacement of a large portion of its citizens, would not have occurred were it not for the apparent indifference of the international community. This attitude allowed the forces of aggression to benefit from their aggression, and to continue their abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing" without fear of retribution.

This feeble stand on the part the international community, particularly the European countries, was reflected in the inability to implement comprehensively the resolutions of the London Conference, upon which we had rested great hopes. It is also reflected in the failure of the Vance-Owen plan and the collapse of the subsequent Geneva talks on refugees.

The international community's dereliction of its responsibilities *vis-á-vis* the Serb aggression has emboldened the Croats to embark upon a similar course of making gains by means of force and coercion.

Against such a backdrop, it was strange indeed that when Croatia was targeted by Serbian aggression, the international community, and especially the European nations, were quick to stand by Croatia and provide military assistance that contributed to the success of international efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement, whereas the international community's feeble stance in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its failure to implement the international resolutions calling for the imposition of economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, have deprived that young Republic of the means of exercising its legitimate right to self-defence. Those resolutions and the sanctions they call for remained dead letter and were not seriously implemented until it was too late, after the Serbs had rejected the Vance-Owen Plan, which the Bosnians and Croats had accepted. What really shocks and amazes us is that this war of aggression is being waged on the European soil whereas history teaches us that such wars on that soil have never been limited wars but have always overspilled beyond the borders. However, no one seems to be paying any attention to those object-lessons.

While we hope that the history of Europe's wars will not repeat itself, we hope that the solutions that are being proposed do not turn out to be the seeds of future conflicts and disputes. We hope that the international community will give serious consideration to the demands of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina so that it may be saved from any repetition of the policies of aggression and "ethnic cleansing". The geographical demands of that young nation should be satisfied by granting it access to the sea as well as providing it with the means of legitimate self-defence, in consonance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The principled stand by the people and Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in support of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina emanates from their strong and total adherence to international legality and respect for international law and not from any religious fanaticism or ethnic affinity. It is the same principled stand that was taken by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in support of Kuwait when it fell victim to the Iraqi regime's aggression.

Somalia continues to be in the grip of instability and political chaos, with all the attendant acts of violence and bloodshed, despite all the efforts deployed to help that nation out of its plight. International efforts, during the Conference for National Reconciliation held at Addis Ababa, focused on the preservation of the Somali State and the maintenance of its independence and territorial integrity. Unfortunately, the required steps have not been taken for the serious implementation of that Agreement. The role of the United Nations has been limited to the distribution of humanitarian assistance to those in need at a time when the role it is expected to play within the new world order is to contribute to peacemaking and to the stabilization of the Somali State. Such measures should help to establish a Somali Government that can extend its authority throughout Somalia.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has made a number of attempts to contain the conflict in Somalia and has tried to bring about national reconciliation among the various factions. It will continue to deploy efforts to stop the bloodshed and to provide humanitarian assistance and relief. We support the Secretary-General's recommendations in his report to the Security Council, on the means of helping re-establish Somalia's constitutional institutions and on the efforts needed to reach national reconciliation and to rebuild Somalia.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia stood by the fraternal people of Afghanistan throughout their *jihad* and celebrated with them their victory over the forces of brutal occupation in the struggle for restoring their national identity. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia spared no effort in working for reconciliation when the infighting started between the various mujahidin factions. Those efforts were crowned with the signing of the Mecca Agreement and the initiation of steps towards its implementation. A National Government that combined all factions of the Afghan mujahidin was established. We take this opportunity to urge our brethren in Afghanistan to comply with the terms of the agreement so that Afghanistan may begin to move towards reconstruction and development and regain its place and role in the international community.

It must be noted that that part of the world continues to suffer as a result of the problem of Jammu and Kashmir, which continues to be an element of instability in the region. The Government of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques follows with great concern the ongoing violence there. We are keen on finding a solution on the basis of United Nations resolutions to this long-standing problem that has overshadowed the relations of the two neighbours, India and Pakistan.

Among the other conflicts in Asia I would refer to the tragic developments resulting from the worsening conflict between two United Nations Member States, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia. That conflict has recently resulted in the occupation by Armenia of parts of Azerbaijan. We consider that occupation to be a breach of the principle of the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and emphasize the importance of withdrawal by Armenia's forces from Azerbaijan's territory in order to transfer that issue to the negotiating table with the aim of reaching a peaceful and just settlement that would ensure the legitimate rights of the people of Azerbaijan.

Our joint and serious efforts towards consolidating the underpinnings of the new world order aim at making it possible to address the issues of development and the creation of an international economic environment in which financial resources would be diverted from arms races to economic and social development. Those efforts are in keeping with our ambitions and the aspirations of our peoples for a better world of peace, prosperity and security. Such an enterprise requires the cooperation of the developed industrial nations by opening their markets to the products of the developing nations, the elimination of protectionist measures, ensuring an early successful outcome to the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks and finding an urgent, rapid solution to the debt problem. On the other hand, economic cooperation between the developing countries themselves is a paramount issue and represents a fundamental tool for consolidating international economic growth.

My Government attaches great importance to issues relating to the world economic system. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia represents a State open to the world, interacting with all the trends and developments that affect it. Thus, we are keen on preserving the health and strength of the world economy, and we are concerned by the disruptions and turmoil that affect its course and development. It is on that basis that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is participating positively in the ongoing discussions on energy and environment. We have shouldered our responsibilities in this regard and have played an active role in international discussions to find a workable and balanced solution to global warming based on proven scientific evidence. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is convinced that the future of this world, its prosperity, and the well-being of its inhabitants, depend on a clear understanding of the environmental problems that face us all and on fully understanding the consequences of the policies adopted in dealing with those problems.

This requires delicate balancing of the burdens and commitments of each and every State in addressing problems of the environment. Due consideration should be given also to the situation of every energy producing or consumer developing country and the effects of environmental policies on the economic growth of those countries. Such an approach will certainly contribute to the achievement of comprehensive development and to the betterment of our peoples' standards of living so that they may all enjoy prosperity, peace, security and stability. The current international circumstances, resulting from the ending of the cold war, together with the progress achieved in arms control and reductions of conventional weapons afford us a rare opportunity for channelling the financial windfall towards solving the problems of development and economic backwardness.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been at the forefront of Islamic States that have adhered to the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, issued by the Organization of the Islamic Conference on 5 August 1990. This Cairo Declaration should be regarded as a tributary providing the proper foundation for positive and practical international cooperation and flowing into the main stream of universal support for human rights and freedoms.

Most particularly, the Declaration expresses the will of over 1 billion people, which by any measure grants it a universal character. While the principles and objectives of human rights are universal in nature, their application must take into consideration the diversity of societies and their historical, cultural, and religious backgrounds and legal systems. We should not rush to the creation of mechanisms that would only deepen differences and disregard the sort of sensitivities that became noticeable during the World Conference on Human Rights that was held recently in Vienna.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a developing society firmly based on the rules that constitute the pillars of Islamic civilization. It is a society that has firmly set itself to face up to the challenges of our times with determination and confidence, and it is a society undergoing evolution and significant reform. Its reforms are guided by the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aiz, and embodied in the basic laws of governance, the Charter of the Majlis al-Shura - the consultative council - and the laws of the provinces. These laws place upon the State the primary responsibility for the protection of human rights in accordance with the Islamic Shariah and determine the relationship between ruler and

ruled on the basis of brotherhood, consultation, loyalty and cooperation.

I am pleased to inform this body that the members of the Majlis al-Shura and those of the provincial councils have been named. These institutions are now making serious preparations to embark upon their appointed tasks and to serve their faith, their King, and their nation. This important step in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's development paves the way for participation by Saudi citizens in sharing the responsibility for confidently building a promising and hopeful future.

The political and economic challenges we face which abound on this session's agenda, put a great burden of responsibility on us all towards our peoples and nations. Our common future will depend on the way we face up to those challenges. In the light of the current international situation and of the emergence of a new international outlook which rejects fanaticism and ossification and confirms a desire for openness and progress, we harbour great hopes that we shall be able to surmount those challenges. In so doing, we must take into consideration the fact that the new international order will not be able to provide us with the peace, justice and development we desire unless we give it the opportunity to do just that.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

29th PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 13 October 1993 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 *(continued)*

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. NDONG (Equatorial Guinea) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mr. President, allow me first of all to express, on behalf of the delegation, Government and people of Equatorial Guinea, our most sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. Your undeniable personal prestige and your recognized adherence to the ideals that inspire our Organization will ensure the success of our work. Your country, Guyana, is a faithful contributor to and participant in the United Nations, and offers us today your great experience and diplomatic skill; these ensure the success of any decisions that may be taken at this session. Through you, we should like to extend our congratulations to the other members of the Bureau in the conviction that their collaboration will be decisive.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, and his Bureau for the contributions and guidance they provided to the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

I should also like to convey to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the profound appreciation and gratitude of His Excellency Obiang Nguema Mbasogo and the Government and the people of Equatorial Guinea for his dedication and the efforts he has exerted in discharging the great responsibilities with which he has been entrusted in a manner that is a source of pride not only for Egypt but for all Africa. In carrying out his mission to promote the peaceful emergence of a new world order and the maintenance of peace, I assure the Secretary-General that he will be able to continue to rely on our full cooperation and support.

To the new States that have joined our Organization we extend a very warm welcome. Their presence here strengthens the United Nations vocation towards universality, and should contribute to the efforts of the international community to maintain peace and promote progress and justice for all nations.

My presence in this world forum should be interpreted as a clear demonstration of the importance that we attach to the United Nations, its principles and its noble task of constantly strengthening the safeguards over the maintenance of peace and social and economic progress for all peoples. This task is of singular importance to Equatorial Guinea, which is engaged in overcoming underdevelopment and achieving dignified standards of living for its people.

The common denominator of the many statements that have been made has been the vast changes that have taken place in the world since the mid-1980s, a trend towards transformation the pace of which, far from decreasing, has accelerated considerably.

With the disappearance of the East-West bipolar structure, which has been replaced by dialogue and

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cooperation, we find ourselves - and this is no exaggeration - faced with a new configuration in international relations characterized by a certain degree of progress in disarmament, at the global and regional levels, and an easing of some regional conflicts.

Equatorial Guinea firmly supports the intensification of the work of the United Nations through preventive diplomacy. Measures such as the sending of missions of inquiry, the use of early-warning systems and the strengthening of the role of regional and subregional organizations can be effective in avoiding conflicts which, once they break out, could require subsequent, much more costly intervention for peace to be restored.

Peace-keeping operations have also undergone qualitative change and now cover increasingly varied activities transcending the traditional sphere. In this respect I should like to underscore the efforts of the United Nations in many parts of the world in the humanitarian field, in providing aid to refugees and in monitoring elections.

Progress and efforts at the subregional level are commendable. Hence we support General Assembly resolution 46/37 B, establishing the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, which is working for peace and confidence-building among the States of our subregion. As a popular saying goes: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." With that Committee we are trying to prevent the emergence of conflicts in the subregion by developing measures to alleviate situations of conflict.

None the less, despite these positive steps and endeavours, at the global level we look to the future with a certain degree of concern because we still see certain positions that prevent equitable economic relations and impede developing countries from exercising international free trade. The sound of the machine-gun and the cannon is still dashing the hopes of many innocent peoples to live in peace and tranquillity. The present international situation, we might say, fluctuates between uneasiness and hope. We hope that the global changes and the end of the cold war will bring renewed life to countries of the third world.

The industrialized countries must understand the need to resolve, on mutually agreed terms, the external debt problem of underdeveloped countries. The weight of that debt is another serious difficulty standing in the way of their achieving a better standard of living.

My country hopes that the new world scene will be conducive to the implementation of procedures for sincere international cooperation for those nations that most need such cooperation, countries that are now struggling not just for a standard of living but for their very survival. Poverty, the sad fate of many States in our world, requires that united action be taken by the other States in order to remedy the situation. The gap between rich and poor is widening at an alarming pace; that disparity can not leave the international community indifferent. Hence it is necessary to strengthen the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in order to meet the new realities.

The problem of preserving the environment and the struggle against illicit drug-trafficking are questions that require our reflection. With the 1992 Stockholm Declaration we laid the foundations of certain universal principles to preserve the global environment and made efforts to stem pollution, desertification and deforestation. But the situation required new initiatives, and these culminated in the Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro.

We hope that these results will have positive effects overall and that it will be possible to ensure sustainable development and the future well-being of mankind.

None the less, I wish to emphasize the obligation of the developed countries, which bear the greatest responsibility for the deterioration of the global ecosystem, towards those other countries that are today being asked to make enormous sacrifices by limiting their legitimate right to use the assets given them by nature. There is a need to seek the necessary compensation for this situation, in particular by the financing of alternative projects and through technological cooperation.

Within its modest economic means my Government has always been, and remains, prepared to take action in order to improve its national environment as a contribution to the task of preserving the global environment.

We condemn the illicit traffic in drugs and are prepared to support any international initiative aimed at its suppression.

The Government of Equatorial Guinea is unflagging in its struggle against the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic, and it will spare no effort for its effective control, thanks to the deep awareness of our

people and the assistance we receive in this connection from international organizations.

To reflect the noble ideals of peace and justice of the people of Equatorial Guinea, my Government has embarked on a progressive democratic process that guarantees to every citizen of the country the exercise of fundamental rights and freedoms.

The firm democratic process begun in the country has been well-received by the people of Equatorial Guinea and by those countries that set aside mere rhetoric and concealed political interests, love Equatorial Guinea and hope that it will progress. The aspiration of the people and the Government of Equatorial Guinea is that our process will be carried through in a climate of national concord without upheaval, without disturbances that could threaten the peace and stability prevailing in the country.

That is why, following the massive adoption of the new fundamental law which enshrined our multiparty system, in the context of Law No. 3 1992 on political parties, the following political organizations have been made legal.

First, the Popular Union submitted its application on 24 April 1992 and was recognized on 17 October 1992.

Second, the Liberal Democratic Convention submitted its application on 1 April 1992 and was recognized on 17 October 1992.

Third, the Social Democrat Party submitted its application on 8 June 1992 and was recognized on 17 October 1992.

Fourth, the Progressive Democratic Alliance submitted its application on 9 July 1992 and was recognized on 4 September 1992.

Fifth, the Social Democratic Union submitted its application on 8 June 1992 and was recognized on 17 October 1992.

Sixth, the Progress Party submitted its application on 18 May 1992 and was recognized on 17 October 1992.

Seventh, the Social Democratic and Popular Convergence submitted its application on 18 May 1992 and was recognized on 5 February 1993.

Eighth, the Social Democratic Coalition Party of Equatorial Guinea submitted its application on 4 November 1992 and was recognized on 5 February 1993.

Ninth, Convergence for Social Democracy submitted its application on 7 November 1992 and was recognized on 5 February 1993.

Tenth, the Equatorial Guinea Popular Action submitted its application on 28 December 1992 and was recognized on 5 February 1993.

Eleventh, the National Democratic Union submitted its application on 29 March 1993 and was recognized on 10 May 1993.

Twelfth, the Socialist Party of Equatorial Guinea submitted its application on 23 March 1993 and was recognized on 10 May 1993.

Thirteenth, the Liberal Party submitted its application on 23 March 1993 and was recognized on 12 July 1993.

In addition to other provisions, such as the law guaranteeing freedom of association and freedom to demonstrate, and the law on the right to protest and to petition, the determination of the Government to establish democracy peacefully in the country has taken concrete shape in the signing of a document - called the National Pact - between the Government and the opposition, which reflects the combined aspirations of all the political forces and is a channel for ensuring the success of the democratization process.

Out of our constant desire to give greater political transparency to the process, we have postponed until 21 November 1993 the legislative elections originally planned for 12 September 1993. We have done so in order to take into account and meet the wishes of certain political groups.

The political spectrum for the forthcoming general legislative elections now looks like this: there are political parties that have decided to participate in the legislative elections, political parties that intend to participate in the legislative elections, and political parties that have not yet decided whether to participate in the legislative elections.

The political parties that have decided to participate in the legislative elections are: the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea, the Liberal Democratic Convention, the

Social Democratic Union, the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party. This very morning, my Government informed me that the Party of the Convergence for Social and People's Democracy has also decided to participate in the legislative elections.

The political parties that have expressed their intention to participate in the legislative elections are: the Progress Party, Tomás Boi Cheky Division; and the Social Democrat Coalition Party, Massoko Division.

With regard to the political parties that have not decided whether to participate in the legislative elections, the Government of Equatorial Guinea has received no official notification of a decision to participate in the legislative elections of 21 November from the following political parties: the Progress Party, Severo Moto Division; the Social Democratic Convergence; the Progressive Democratic Alliance; the Social Democrat Coalition Party, Buenaventura Monsuy Division; People's Action of Equatorial Guinea; the National Democratic Union; and the Socialist Party of Equatorial Guinea.

In connection with the revision of the electoral law proposed by the opposition political parties, on 19 October and 13 and 18 November the Government extended an invitation to these parties to participate in some meetings, but they did not come to the meetings or give any reason for not doing so.

In view of the opposition parties' inexplicable refusal to participate, and in order to avoid any stagnation in the political democratization process, the Government used its legislative initiative, under our Basic Law, to adopt a draft law, which was sent to the House of Representatives and approved with amendments by that legislative body. The text of the law was approved and promulgated by our Head of State in January 1993.

It should be pointed out that the electoral law now in force is based on comparative law - mainly the electoral legislation of Spain, France and Gabon. For that reason, the Government is firmly convinced that the rejection of the electoral law by the opposition political parties that have not expressed their intention to participate in the legislative elections of 21 November 1993 is nothing but a pretext for delaying or blocking the process that has been set in motion. There is no doubt that the implementation of the democratic process in Equatorial Guinea has been made possible by the selflessness and determination of His Excellency Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, who, after freedom had triumphed on 3 August 1979, overthrew the dictatorship and began the real march of the country towards democracy in a climate of peace and harmony, which the advocates of violence wish to destroy with their provocations and their contemptible plots.

We in Equatorial Guinea totally reject the views of the apologists violence and their attempts to undermine national peace and stability. We reject those who do nothing but defame our country and our Government, denigrating the actions that have been undertaken thus far in the country.

A democracy imposed by foreign interests becomes corrupt and falls apart. A democracy that denies the genuine, traditional and sacred values of a people not only hurts the feelings, the pride and the honour of that people but is also doomed to failure. "Man is what circumstances dictate", affirmed the great Spanish philosopher Balmes. That is why only a democracy that can respond to the sacred interests of the people of Equatorial Guinea will be viable in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea. In documents A/48/307 of 12 August 1993, A/48/330 of 19 August 1993, and A/48/357 of 31 August 1993, our Government presented information on the interference of certain foreign interests in my country's internal affairs. From this rostrum, we are holding the countries responsible for that interference responsible for the consequences.

We reaffirm that only in an atmosphere of peace is it possible to achieve the progress and well-being to which all peoples aspire. To the governmental and non-governmental organizations and friendly countries that, with their support, have contributed to the efforts of our Government, we express our deepest appreciation, and we urge them to continue to lend their support and cooperation at this decisive stage in our democratic process.

Intelligent action in this new global society must be based on the exercise of the firmest solidarity. If that is done, we shall be able to say with pride, "We the peoples, for a better world."

Mr. MATTHEWS (Liberia): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are sure that your vast experience, personal qualifications, and intimate knowledge of the manifold problems confronting the international community will serve you well in the performance of your duties. Please be assured of the fullest cooperation and support of the Liberian delegation.

We extend a deserving tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, for the efficient and able manner in which he handled the affairs of the Assembly during the past year. His decisiveness and fairness paid off greatly in producing the many results which are a positive outgrowth of the debate of the previous session.

Our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, also deserves special commendation for his persistent and tireless efforts in trying to secure a world that is both peaceful and just and sustained by an equitable economic order. Indeed, his devotion and singular commitment to the principles and purposes of the Organization have brought renewed confidence on the prospects of achieving mankind's dream of a stable international environment.

We seize this opportunity to welcome the newly-admitted Members of the United Nations. It is our fervent hope that they will make a meaningful contribution to our common search for global peace and security.

Over the past three years Liberia's external relations, in response to domestic imperatives, have focused on the achievement of four primary objectives: first, to ensure that international opinion is sensitized to the serious effects of the civil war in Liberia and the need for international support to end the conflict; secondly, to effect the mobilization of humanitarian and emergency relief assistance for the war-ravaged population; thirdly, to help sustain the consensus on the situation in Liberia within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and to secure broader international acceptance of the ECOWAS peace plan as the best possible formula for resolving the Liberian civil strife; and, fourthly, to enhance the peace process itself by neutralizing attempts to resolve the Liberian conflict through the military victory of a faction, while encouraging a negotiated political settlement of this seemingly intractable conflict.

In pursuit of these objectives, the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) has participated in 25 peace talks and a great number of other consultations with the Liberian factions, the leaders of subregional, regional and international organizations, and foreign Governments to enhance the prospects for peace in Liberia.

It is now my pleasing duty to inform the Assembly that the Interim Government of National Unity, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) signed a peace accord in Cotonou, the Republic of Benin, on 25 July 1993. The Cotonou Agreement is a significant breakthrough in the quest for durable peace in Liberia.

By agreeing on a process beginning with a cease-fire and leading to disarmament, demobilization and then free and fair elections, we Liberians have all finally decided on how power will be acquired in our country. The Agreement is therefore a great victory for the people of Liberia in their efforts to secure a democratic future.

As my delegation stated on 10 August 1993 during the Security Council's consideration of the report (S/26200) of the Secretary-General on Liberia, the Cotonou Agreement is also a victory for the leaders and peoples of the member States of the Economic Community of West African States, who took a bold and courageous initiative to resolve a security question in their subregion, with the active support and cooperation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

On that occasion, we went on to state, and we here repeat, that the United Nations must also share in this victory. In this vein we wish to register our appreciation to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for his consuming interest in the crisis in Liberia. We thank him immensely for his thorough and incisive reports on Liberia, which enhanced the decisiveness of the Security Council with respect to resolutions 788 (1992), 813 (1993) and 866 (1993).

We also commend the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers; the OAU Eminent Person for Liberia, former Zimbabwean President the Rev. Dr. Canaan Banana; and the former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, Dr. Abbas Bundu; whose relentless collaborative efforts helped to make the Cotonou Agreement a reality.

The people of Liberia will for ever remain grateful to the gallant men and women of the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Enduring thanks go to the West African States which have made troop contributions to the peace-keeping effort: Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Mali and Senegal.

During the process of negotiating the Cotonou Agreement, the Interim Government, largely a coalition of various political parties and interest groups representing the vast majority of our citizenry who do not bear arms, demanded the disarmament of all combatants as a *sine qua non* for the restoration of peace. The armed factions conceded to this demand on condition that a new,

transitional authority, to include the Interim Government, be organized within a framework acceptable to them. This concession, hardly an unreasonably high price to pay for disarmament and peace, was made. The Cotonou Agreement, then, divided into a military and a political component, encompasses provisions attending a trade-off.

The political demands are far-reaching, in that they require more than a simple reconfiguration of the Interim Government within the context of power-sharing. The Liberian National Transitional Government, being a new creation, requires the divestiture of power from the current interim authorities. On the other hand, the warring factions, divested of their arms and demobilized, will equally cease to exist as fighting forces.

To strengthen the Agreement, or otherwise reinforce the confidence of the parties, it was agreed that the installing of the Transitional Government, and the beginning of the disarmament process, each being a precondition for the other, would ensue simultaneously. However, this demand for concurrent processes harbours the prospective danger that an achievement lag in either component, military or political, may tend to undermine confidence in the entire peace process and thereby threaten the understanding.

What, then, does each phase require, and how much and in what area has progress been made?

The implementation of the political phase of the Accords has largely been completed, and on schedule. The Interim Government has complied with all the concessions required for disarmament so that Liberians may live free from fear and have a chance of being at peace with each other.

A five-member Council of State has been formed to constitute the executive authority of the Transitional Government. The legislature, the judiciary, and the Elections Commission are being reorganized or otherwise made to reflect the inclusive intent of the transitional period. The Liberian National Transitional Government is waiting to be installed once the disarmament process begins. Pacta sunt servanda. What, then, is the requirement for the disarmament process to begin? The following paragraph from the report of the Secretary-General on Liberia, of 4 August 1993, correctly reflects the specific provisions of the agreement and the factor motivating them. The Secretary-General states:

> "Given the level of mistrust existing between ECOMOG and the NPFL, special measures were devised to make ECOMOG acceptable to all parties in overseeing encampment, disarmament and demobilization. It was agreed that ECOMOG would be expanded to include new troops from countries not already participating in ECOMOG. These troops would be drawn from other ECOWAS countries, as well as from OAU countries outside of the West African subregion. In addition, it was proposed that United Nations military observers would monitor and verify the cease-fire as well as the implementation of the encampment, disarmament and demobilization provisions of the Agreement." (*S/26200, para. 7*)

A month later, in September 1993, the Secretary-General, recognizing that these preparations for disarmament would not keep pace with the political arrangements, advanced a most constructive proposal in his report of 9 September 1993 as follows:

> "... The Agreement forecasts that the transitional government would be established approximately one month after the signing of the agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. While this process is already somewhat behind schedule, the establishment of the transitional government is crucial to reinforcing national reconciliation. I therefore urge ECOMOG to move quickly in commencing the disarmament process, with monitoring provided by the advance team of UNOMIL, even before full deployment of the expanded ECOMOG and UNOMIL. In this regard, it is encouraging to note that NPFL expressed to the planning mission its readiness to accept troops from among the present ECOMOG contingent to be deployed in NPFL areas. With the expected full deployment of the advanced team of United Nations military observers in the coming days, the disarmament process could possibly begin immediately thereafter." (*S/26422, para. 40*)

Last week in Monrovia, Dr. Amos Sawyer, the President of the Interim Government of National Unity, publicly assured the Liberian people that if the armed factions accept the Secretary-General's proposal and allow the disarmament process to commence, he would immediately transfer power to the transitional authorities. However, the unwillingness of any of the armed factions to avail itself of the proposal need not necessarily be viewed as reflective of a lack of will or suggestive of bad

faith. Scrupulous adherence to the actual terms of the Agreement may ultimately enhance the prospects for genuine peace, however slow and exacting the process may prove to be. Meanwhile, efforts continue to get the full complement of additional ECOMOG forces and United Nations observers. The Government of Liberia wishes to thank the United States Government for its contribution to the Trust Fund of the Economic Community of West African States to facilitate the expansion of ECOMOG and assist the forces currently in place. We renew our request to other friendly Governments to respond to the Secretary-General's appeal for contributions to the Trust Fund as a means of advancing the peace process in Liberia.

We are convinced that the enabling conditions for disarmament will be expeditiously created and that the Transitional Government will be installed shortly. The fact that the cease-fire continues to hold and that the parties are largely cooperating with each other is a basis for continuing confidence in the commitment of the parties.

Our hearts are touched by the great outpouring of empathy and good will from countries that have contributed to the well-being of the people of Liberia since the beginning of our conflict. Through the specialized agencies of the United Nations system, as well as many private volunteer and non-governmental organizations, they have enabled many Liberians to find life worth living because of the genuine concern that has been demonstrated. Our thanks go to all those who continue to make a difference in the lives of our people.

The Transitional Government, when installed with authority spanning the entire country, will stand in need of extensive relief assistance to respond effectively to the monumental human suffering existing in some parts of Liberia. Our delegation envisages an upsurge in the demand for humanitarian assistance, with food and medical supplies being the obvious priorities. We appeal to the international community to stand ready to assist the people of Liberia for a reasonable period, as it will take time before the advantages of peace are translated into real improvements in the lives of the people.

A successful disarmament exercise will be the long-awaited signal for our people in refugee camps to return home. Indeed, the Transitional Government will need the cooperation and assistance of men of good will everywhere in order to succeed in the awesome tasks of repatriation, resettlement and rehabilitation. The gruesome civil war devastated the economy of the country, paralysed vital social services and destroyed basic infrastructure. It is significant that the political division of the country has prevented a coordinated needs survey to fully assess the reconstruction demand.

It is important, also, that the Transitional Government has the task of helping to prepare the country for free and fair elections, to be held under international supervision and monitoring within six to seven months. This is hardly ideal timing, but it proved to be the best that a negotiated settlement could produce. Clearly, the international community has a moral obligation to help the people of Liberia succeed in this endeavour, since the very thought of failure attending these exercises is, in itself, a nightmare.

The Interim Government has striven, even in the throes of a civil war, to maintain law and order and operate with a Constitution which affirms civil liberties and respect for fundamental human rights. We, as men of conscience, condemn and stand in total opposition against those who, in the midst of the war, trained their weapons on helpless civilians. We therefore thank the Secretary-General for responding with dispatch to the Interim Government's request for the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the atrocities committed since the commencement of the civil war. We believe that the Wako Commission Report has contributed to amassing the evidence required in order for justice to be done to the perpetrators of the Harbel area massacre and other massacres.

Liberia's tragic circumstances, coupled with the efforts to resolve the conflict, provide useful lessons that could be most instructive for the international community. The Liberian peace process has shown that, even in the face of scarce resources, member States of the Economic Community of West African States have contained a security threat in their subregion by marshalling the requisite political will to do so. The dispatch and maintenance of a peace-keeping force in Liberia by the leaders of ECOWAS represent the finest hour for Africa in its efforts to maintain peace and security on the continent.

The Liberian experience has also demonstrated that peace initiatives that are conceived and implemented within a subregional context, while supported and assisted by regional and international organizations, are a practical approach which stands the best chance of success in conflict resolution. The States closest to the conflict are likely to have a deeper understanding of, and appreciation for, the interplay of forces within the milieu. It is against this background that the Government of Liberia gave its

fullest support for, and endorsement of, the establishment of a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution within the Organization of African Unity.

We welcome the establishment of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations in the Secretariat for the planning and coordination of all United Nations peace-keeping activities, confident that it will countenance greater regional involvement in conflict management, buttressed by support from the United Nations.

On the question of Somalia, the Government of Liberia welcomes the bold and courageous efforts by the United Nations to resolve the tragic situation there and bring peace to that country. We deplore the killing of United Nations peace-keepers in Mogadishu, and we support the efforts by this world body to bring to justice those responsible for such acts. The implementation of the Addis Ababa Accords, signed on 27 March 1993, at the national reconciliation conference, offers the best hope for a peaceful transition to a pacified and democratic State of Somalia. We therefore urge the Somali factions to respect and implement that agreement.

Regarding South Africa, we welcome the current multi-party negotiations in that country as the most inclusive forum so far convened to end the apartheid system and create a non-racial, democratic society. We are pleased that, as a result of these negotiations, a democratic Government is scheduled to be elected in April 1994.

With regard to Angola, the Government of Liberia wishes to call on UNITA to abandon its military agenda and seek to resolve the crisis through peaceful means in conformity with the Bicesse Accords. In this light, we also make a special appeal to UNITA to conform to the wishes of the people of Angola by accepting the results of the September 1992 elections. We call on it to sign the protocol of agreement negotiated in Abidjan in a spirit of national unity and reconciliation of all Angolans.

Last month the world welcomed the historic and dramatic developments affecting peace in the Middle East, when the Government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized each other. The signing of an agreement on Palestinian autonomy means that the first real step has indeed been taken towards Palestinian self-rule. It is our sincerest hope that this agreement will soon be complemented by peace accords between Israel and all of its Arab neighbours.

Perhaps no problem, apart from the spectre of a nuclear holocaust, has elicited more global concern than that of the environment, given its intrinsic linkage to man's survival and his economic well-being. In a world characterized by issues of common concern and ever-increasing interdependence of States, a collective approach is indispensable in meeting the challenges posed by environmental problems and the international economic situation. The environmental crisis is now posing a serious threat to the life-support system of our planet. This is why my delegation believes it is most important that Member States maintain the momentum gained at the historic 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro, by effective follow-up at the national and international levels. We welcome the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development whose responsibility it is to review and monitor implementation of Agenda 21.

With respect to the world economic situation, it remains our firm belief that, in order to achieve progress in global economic recovery, issues of long-term significance, such as the excruciating debt burden of developing countries, low commodity prices, protectionism and dwindling resource flow into developing countries, should all form the real agenda for the setting of priorities to include a permanent increase in global economic growth. The current gloomy situation of the international economy, worse now than in the previous decade, is further accentuated by new risks to the world economy caused by conflicts, the problem of refugees and the plight of the world's children. These problems pose a real threat to growth and development in many regions of the world.

In view of what I have said, there is an urgent need, as a part of the continuing effort to forge a new and fairer international economic order, for the peace dividends derived from the easing of bipolar tension to be deployed to meet the development needs of the world's most economically disadvantaged regions. They should not be reserved for the exclusive use of the already wealthy nations, and they should not be directed only towards the political and economic liberalization of a particular region of the world. All must take into account the fact that economic opportunity and social justice are essential preconditions for peace and security in our global village.

The post-cold-war era has offered the United Nations new opportunities and challenges, particularly in the fulfilment of its unique responsibility as the conscience of mankind. In recent years, the United Nations has taken bold decisions in peacemaking, peace-keeping and

peace-building, humanitarian intervention and the protection of human rights. These assertive approaches have made the United Nations appear more relevant to the peoples of the world.

It is hoped that, in its honourable pursuits, the United Nations will continue to be led by men of vision who can ensure the realization of the noble ideals enshrined in its Charter - fostering world peace and promoting development and cooperation amongst all the peoples of our one world.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the general debate.

I am informed that the representative of Azerbaijan has requested to exercise the right of reply. May I remind him that statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second intervention, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

I now call on the representative of Azerbaijan to speak in the exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. ALIYEV (Azerbaijan): I have asked to speak in exercise of my right of reply, under rule 73 of the rules of procedure, in order to refer to a statement made earlier by the representative of the Republic of Armenia.

The statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia contains many colourful epithets regarding his country. He appeals for the sympathy of representatives by declaring that he is the Foreign Minister of a small country under a total blockade and under constant provocation by Azerbaijan to be drawn into the Nagorny Karabakh conflict.

I do not like to use the high rostrum of this Assembly to take up once again a discussion on this conflict. The facts are widely known, but they have been misrepresented by the Minister.

How is it possible to speak of Armenia being drawn into the Nagorny Karabakh conflict when it was that country's Parliament which adopted, back in 1989, the decision to annex the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan? This decision was taken even though the international community, the United Nations and the Security Council explicitly and unequivocally agreed that Nagorny Karabakh is and must be an integral part of Azerbaijan.

It is no secret that, under the guise of the high principle of self-determination and with the aim of expanding its territory, Armenia initiated, and for over six years has been waging, an undeclared war against Azerbaijan. The results of this war are well known. The Minister himself mentioned in his statement that the conflict had claimed the lives of more than 10,000 persons and had caused more than a million innocent people to become refugees and displaced persons. The Minister failed to mention, however, that Azerbaijan is the home of the million displaced persons. He also omitted the fact that the war is taking place exclusively on Azerbaijani territory. One fifth of its land has been occupied by the Armenian military forces, that is, four times more than the territory of the Nagorny Karabakh region itself, which is the object of territorial claims by Armenia in Azerbaijan.

Taking into consideration the fact that Armenia is practically waging an undeclared war against Azerbaijan in the latter's territory, the question of a so-called blockade allegedly imposed by Azerbaijan on Armenia seems illogical. It is evident that the breaking off of communications and transport connections is the inevitable result of any military conflict between two countries. Armenia borders not only on Azerbaijan, but on three other countries, and it is not in a state of conflict with them. It is therefore able to use their transportation lines in order to receive all necessary goods. However, as a result of the war that was imposed by Armenia on Azerbaijan, the entire Nakhichevan region of Azerbaijan is now totally cut off from the rest of the country.

With regard to Armenia's interpretation of the concept of self-determination, which was colourfully described in the statement, I would like to point out that Armenia became outspoken in this policy only after expelling the remaining 215,000 Azerbaijanis from the country that had been their home for centuries. As a result of this, Armenia had become a unique monoethnic State, where practically no ethnic or religious minorities exist. No minorities - no problems.

Consequently, a country such as Armenia cannot be justified in proclaiming itself the advocate of the right of self-determination in another country, especially when it is pursuing unfounded territorial claims in that country - claims which have been endorsed *de jure* by a decision of the Armenian Parliament.

Incidentally, thousands of Azerbaijanis had been living in Armenia without any form of autonomy. The Armenian community of the Nagorny Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, on the other hand, enjoyed autonomy in the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of their lives. There are over a hundred different peoples and ethnic groups in Azerbaijan, and all of them have equal rights.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that Armenia's declaration that it is the only democracy in the region is offensive to neighbouring countries. Presidential elections were recently held in Azerbaijan that were monitored by various international observers, such as representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the International Labor Organisation, members of parliament, and representatives of human rights organizations from a number of countries, and of the diplomatic corps, and all agreed that the process was fully democratic. It is ironic for Armenia to declare itself "an island of stability in a sea of political chaos and turmoil" *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, p. 24 of provisional)* after it has annexed part of another country's territory and uprooted a million innocent people.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: At the conclusion of a most interesting debate, I am prompted to make a brief observation on its general thrust so that we may be adequately oriented in the future work of the Assembly.

In comparison with recent debates, this year's has been remarkable - at least in my view - for its vision and sense of purpose in addressing the global agenda for the rest of this century and beyond. I would wish to thank all delegations which participated for the thoughtful insights provided through our collective review of the international political, economic and social situation. More particularly, I would like to acknowledge with profound gratitude the warm tributes paid to my region, my country and myself. Representatives may be assured that I will do my utmost to satisfy their expectations of the presidency.

It has been truly encouraging to perceive, notwithstanding the grave uncertainties now prevailing in international relations, that there exists a widespread optimism about the Organization's capacity to satisfy the expectations and needs of its membership. There seems to be a renewed commitment, by all States, to the purposes and principles of the Charter and a ready acknowledgement of the concept of interdependence, which must now be translated into actual cooperation. We must seek to infuse this unity of spirit into our deliberations as we come to address the many issues on our agenda.

Indeed, the end of the cold war revealed and released ethnic and nationalist tensions which had been repressed, and brought back behaviour which we thought had receded far into history. There is now stronger support - stronger than ever - for United Nations preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping, reflecting the bold plans set out in the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace". During the coming weeks we shall have the opportunity to explore further the several proposals which have been made on how to strengthen further our capacity in this area.

I am especially pleased, however, to see a universal disposition to complement the "Agenda for Peace" with one for development in order to address the urgent economic and social problems which confront the majority of our peoples. Statements have invariably stressed the need for maximum international economic cooperation to improve the global economy and, more particularly, the disadvantaged situation of the developing countries.

Many positive ideas, encompassing the issues of debt, development assistance, trade and the preservation of the environment, have emerged from this comprehensive analysis. These should provide substantial input to the Second Committee's consideration of the agenda item on an agenda for development, which should in turn provide a basis for the furtherance and completion of the Secretary-General's report on this important subject.

Equally noteworthy has been the eagerness with which delegations seem prepared to advance our work to reform and restructure the United Nations to make it more adapted and adaptable to the times in which we now live. There is a distinct perception in the House that many, if not all, of the organs, as presently conceived and constituted, are ill-suited to prevailing circumstances and the satisfaction of our many needs. Considerable focus has been placed on the Security Council, which, in the eyes of many, requires enlargement and more transparent operations so as better to represent the membership in dealing with the complex questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Great interest has also been evinced in strengthening the ability of the economic and social bodies, including their governing councils, to address their respective agendas. Finally, it has been made clear that the Assembly would

wish me to pursue the effort of my predecessors to revitalize the Assembly's role under the Charter.

I have already begun consultations, through the chairmen of all regional groups and other interested parties, with a view to creating - or, in some cases, reviving - as quickly as possible machinery which would allow necessary and urgent follow-up in these several areas of interest. All working groups thus established would be open-ended and transparent in their operations, while tasked at the same time to complete their mandates expeditiously. I hope within a few days to be in a position to make a further announcement in this connection.

It would be a pity, I believe, if, as has been the case over the years, the high level of political will demonstrated in the general debate were to be allowed to evaporate without infusing more detailed consideration of issues at the level of the various subject Committees. The Committees and working groups should bear in mind the main ideas and recommendations which we have been privileged to hear during this debate and should seek to implement them wherever feasible.

I would be less than candid here were I not to confess to some disappointment that, despite my occasional reminders to the Assembly of the need to respect its own decision to refrain from expressing congratulations to speakers in the Hall and thus to make the most efficient use of its time, my pleas went largely unheeded. Also less than satisfactory was the punctuality record. Admittedly, because of protocol requirements dictated by the attendance of many Heads of State and Government and other high-level representatives, I was myself, on occasion, failing in this regard. However, now that the debate is over and the plenary Assembly is about to address substantive issues on the Assembly's agenda, I intend to insist on the full observance of our accepted rules of procedure. May I therefore urge the membership, at this time when our Organization's resources are scarce, to demonstrate a heightened sense of responsibility in the conduct of our deliberations.

Over the past two and a half weeks we have heard addresses from 28 Heads of State, 13 Prime Ministers, 2 Crown Princes and 122 Foreign Ministers, among others. Despite this record number of statements - a total of 175, I am told - our debate ended on the day scheduled. With representatives' cooperation, we can also complete the programme ahead within the time allotted.

Finally, may I express the hope - indeed, my expectation - that deliberations in Committees and statements in plenary meetings to come will, like the general debate, rise to the level of events and of our aspirations to peace and development.

I wish to thank everyone in the Secretariat, including our conference services and the interpreters - for the very ready and unstinting cooperation we have received.

May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 9?

It was so decided.

PROGRAMME OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that the debate on the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization is scheduled for tomorrow morning, and there are now 13 names inscribed on the list of speakers. I wish to point out that that number of speakers will not quite fill a three-hour meeting, that is to say, from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. A full meeting has been allocated to this debate because of members' concern, as expressed in resolution 47/233 of 17 August 1993, that the reports of principal organs should be discussed in depth by the Assembly. However, the whole purpose of such a decision would be defeated if only a few representatives spoke. This is especially true in the case of the debate on the report of the International Court of Justice, for which, up to now, only two speakers have inscribed their names on the list.

We cannot decide on one way and act another. Allow me therefore to remind Member States that the list of speakers for those items is open. I invite them to follow up our resolutions with appropriate action in the debates in the plenary Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 150

OBSERVER STATUS FOR THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/48/L.1

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Pakistan to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.1, concerning agenda item 150.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors - Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.1, on the granting of Observer status for the Economic Cooperation Organization in the General Assembly. I should like to state that this draft resolution has been sponsored also by Senegal.

The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) is an intergovernmental organization which was established in 1985 when its predecessor organization, the Regional Cooperation for Development, was restructured and revitalized. Its founding members are the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Turkey. The membership of this organization has since expanded to include seven other members of the region and it now stands at 10. The new members of the organization are the Islamic State of Afghanistan, the Azerbaijani Republic, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The Economic Cooperation Organization has the following objectives: (a) to expand trade among member States by providing free access to each other's markets; (b) to promote in each member State conditions for sustained economic growth in order to achieve continuous improvement in the standard of living of the people; (c) to consolidate cultural affinities and spiritual and fraternal ties that bind the people of the member States through social and cultural channels of thought and action; and (d) to contribute to the growth of world trade and to strive to remove any iniquitous trading policies resulting in adverse terms of trade for the developing countries, by evolving a common approach in international forums.

The activities of the Economic Cooperation Organization are conducted through eight technical committees, which consider and evolve projects and programmes of mutual benefit in the fields of economic and commercial cooperation, transport and communications, agriculture, engineering, infrastructure and public works, narcotics-abuse control, educational, scientific and cultural matters.

A protocol of preferential tariff arrangements involving a 10 per cent reduction has already been signed as a first step towards the eventual elimination of trade barriers in the region.

The member States of the Economic Cooperation Organization are convinced that, as a regional organization representing 10 members, ECO will benefit greatly by having Observer status with the United Nations and that it will also make a positive collective contribution to the activities of the United Nations.

I have the honour to request that the Economic Cooperation Organization be granted Observer status to the General Assembly of the United Nations, on terms similar to those that have been prescribed in respect of other regional associations of States. The members of the Economic Cooperation Organization would greatly appreciate the support of the members of the General Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.1. May I take it that the Assembly wishes to adopt the draft resolution by consensus?

Draft resolution A/48/L.1 was adopted (resolution 48/2).

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the resolution just adopted I now call on the Secretary-General of the Economic Cooperation Organization, Mr. Shamshad Ahmad.

Mr. AHMAD (Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)): I deem it a great privilege and an honour to represent the Economic Cooperation Organization at the forty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

May I at the outset extend to you, Sir, my sincere felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Assembly at this session. We are confident that under your stewardship this session is assured of a successful and positive outcome, which will no doubt reinforce the role of the United Nations and its resolve in facing the persistent and emerging challenges in the world.

I should like to extend special thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dedicated efforts and tireless endeavours to promote the aims and objectives of the United Nations. His report "An Agenda for Peace" is especially commendable for it constitutes an important initiative towards global stability, which will no doubt be conducive to efforts to promote the economic progress and well-being of all nations and regions.

This session is taking place in the wake of profound changes on the international and regional scenes. While the confrontations of the past are receding, many new economic and political imperatives have arisen which demand new approaches in the outlooks of States and organizations. Today we are witnessing a renewed focus on multilateral cooperation for addressing both political and economic issues.

My presence at this session is motivated by the need for us to forge closer cooperation between our two organizations, which share common interests and ideals. As representatives are aware, ECO is purely an economic organization seeking to promote multifaceted regional cooperation as a solid base for sustained socio-economic growth of its member States.

Its recent expansion from 3 to 10 full members makes ECO a major regional grouping and an important international entity with vast combined potential in terms of material and human resources.

Encompassing a huge land mass of over 7 million square kilometres, inhabited by nearly 300 million people, ECO assumes a special role, not only in the revival of old cultural and emotional links between the proud inheritors of a common historical legacy, but also for addressing the imperatives of the future.

To best accomplish its objectives as stipulated in its charter, the Treaty of Izmir, the Economic Cooperation Organization is seeking to establish cooperative linkages with various international organizations. Our quest begins, naturally, with the best-established and most prestigious, the United Nations. I am pleased to announce in this forum that the ECO attaches the utmost importance to developing a cooperative relationship with the United Nations and is keen to benefit from the experience of its relevant bodies, especially in the economic field.

We are happy and gratified at the adoption of the resolution giving ECO observer status with the United Nations. On behalf of the members of our organization, I wish to thank the Members of the United Nations for unanimously endorsing the resolution. We are confident that the grant of observer status to ECO in the General Assembly will facilitate the development of a productive working relationship between the two organizations, focusing on the socioeconomic welfare of our region.

ECO has recently launched two important action plans, namely the Quetta plan of action and the Istanbul declaration on ECO's long-term prospects. These documents envisage several specific projects in vital areas of development activities such as transport and communications, trade and energy. In the implementation of these projects, ECO's efforts would in fact complement the economic development programmes of the United Nations and those of its subsidiary bodies in the ECO region.

We have already been in contact with various United Nations agencies and have established cooperative relationships with the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which have active programmes in the ECO region. We are also in contact with the United Nations Children's Fund on establishing a similar relationship. We should be happy to enter into similar cooperative linkages with other United Nations agencies in order to benefit from their programmes. These cooperative linkages with United Nations bodies would beyond a doubt pave the way for exploiting the countless opportunities and the combined potential offered by our region's vast material and human resources.

In conclusion, I wish you, Mr. President, every success for the deliberations of this session.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 150?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 153

OBSERVER STATUS FOR THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/48/L.4

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Netherlands to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.4.

Mr. BIEGMAN (Netherlands): The Permanent Court of Arbitration is the oldest intergovernmental institution in existence that is dedicated to the task of resolving disputes between States. It was established in 1899 by the first Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. Since it has its seat in The Hague, in the Peace Palace, the honour of introducing the draft resolution contained in document

A/48/L.4 rests with the Netherlands delegation. I am doing so now also on behalf of the almost 50 countries that had already decided to join in sponsoring the draft resolution, and of the other 10 that have since decided to join, namely, Albania, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Colombia, Cuba, Cyprus, Kyrgyzstan, Senegal, Suriname and Ukraine.

Mr. Musuka (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The draft resolution is a short one. It contains only two operative paragraphs: after having noted the desire of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to intensify its cooperation with the United Nations, the General Assembly would decide to invite the Permanent Court of Arbitration to participate in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly in the capacity of Observer and would request the Secretary-General to take the necessary action to implement the resolution.

As stated in the explanatory memorandum annexed to the request to include the present item in our agenda, the creation of a permanent institutional relationship between the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the United Nations will enable both organizations to strengthen existing ties. This would have several positive effects, one being that it would facilitate the active participation of the international Bureau of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in meetings of the United Nations that are engaged in the discussion of systems for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, as well as in the development and implementation of the programme of the Decade of International Law.

The Court's activities regarding the Decade of International Law arise, *inter alia*, from the fact that the conference of members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration invited the Administrative Council of the Court to authorize its Secretary-General, in preparation for the commemoration of the centenary of the First International Peace Conference, in 1999, to appoint a broadly based Steering Committee. The Committee will analyse the historical development and practical application of methods of dispute settlement, and will also make recommendations as to whether to revise the Hague Conventions and whether to improve the dispute-settlement procedures under the auspices of the Court. Experts from States in different geographical areas, at different levels of economic development and with different legal systems will sit on the Committee.

More generally speaking, observer status would, of course, enhance the ability of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to intensify its cooperation with the United Nations in all appropriate fields.

The Netherlands firmly hopes that the decision to grant observer status to the Permanent Court of Arbitration will be part of a continuing effort to strengthen the international system of peaceful settlement of disputes, and that those countries not yet participating in the activities of the Court will join it by adhering to the 1907 Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.4. May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt the draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/48/L.4 was adopted **(resolution 48/3)**.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Belgium, representing the European Community and its members, for an explanation of position on the resolution just adopted. May I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. DEREYMAEKER (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): First, Sir, permit me to express to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, on behalf of the European Community and its member States, our warm congratulations on its having been granted observer status in the General Assembly. Its admission makes official, and consolidates, the long-standing relationship between the United Nations - and even its predecessor, the League of Nations - and the oldest inter-governmental organization with competence in the realm of the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

For the European Community and its member States, the peaceful settlement of disputes is a fundamental aspect of their understanding of international relations. One of the major objectives of the United Nations Decade of International Law is to promote ways and means of peacefully settling disputes between States. The contribution of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to the Decade's work could therefore prove useful.

When it unanimously adopted last year the programme for the activities for the second term (1993-1994) of the Decade, the General Assembly invited the

Sixth Committee to consider wider use of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. It is undoubtedly in order to facilitate such recourse to the Court that its Administrative Council last year adopted a series of new optional rules of procedure relating to the arbitration of disputes between States.

The European Community and its member States are pleased at the prospect of seeing the Court take an active and structured part in the work of the General Assembly. The Sixth Committee has already benefited from the experience the Court has acquired during nearly a century of existence. Indeed, at its forty-sixth and forty-seventh sessions the Committee decided to invite the Secretary-General of the Court to speak on the theme of the United Nations Decade of International Law, the end of which, in 1999, will coincide with the centenary of the Court's creation. We listened with a great deal of interest to the statements of the Secretary-General of the Court, and were able to learn of its activities and plans for the future.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in explanation of position.

May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 153?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 157

OBSERVER STATUS FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN PARLIAMENT IN THE GENERAI ASSEMBLY: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/48/L.3

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has before it a draft resolution (A/48/L.3). I call on the representative of Panama to introduce the draft resolution.

Mr. AROSEMENA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an honour for me to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.3, by which the General Assembly would grant observer status to the Latin American Parliament.

The Latin American Parliament was established on 10 December 1964 in Lima, Peru, by the representatives of a number of Parliaments of Latin America. The States which at that time comprised the Parliament agreed to institutionalize it by a Treaty, also signed in Lima on 16 November 1987. Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela signed the Treaty on that date. The Treaty is now in force, having been ratified by eleven Latin American countries.

The Latin American Parliament has also been granted observer status in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, at the invitation of that body.

The Treaty of Lima describes the Latin American Parliament as "a regional, permanent, unicameral organization ..." composed of "the national Congresses or Legislative Assemblies of democratically constituted States Parties ...", represented by all-party delegations chosen by their respective Parliaments.

In accordance with international law, the Treaty grants the Parliament a separate legal personality and the privileges and immunities which international law grants to international organizations.

The Latin American Parliament, which is financed by assessments paid by the States Parties, has been sitting since 1990 in São Paulo, Brazil.

The Parliament's objectives include the following: first, to promote the integrated economic and social development of the Latin American community and to endeavour to achieve, as quickly as possible, the full economic, political and cultural integration of its peoples; second, to defend the full enjoyment of freedom, social justice, economic independence and the exercise of representative democracy, with strict adherence to the principles of non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples; third, to ensure strict respect for fundamental human rights and to see to it that they are not infringed in any Latin American State in any way that damages human dignity; fourth, to fight for the abolition of all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and any other form of discrimination in Latin America; fifth, to oppose imperialist action in Latin America, recommending appropriate legal norms and standards that allow Latin American peoples full exercise of their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and the better utilization and preservation of those resources; sixth, to promote international cooperation in order to orchestrate and foster the harmonious development of the Latin American community for the common good; seventh, to contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and the international legal order and to promote world disarmament, denouncing and combating the arms race and

aggression by those who uphold a policy based on the use of force, which are incompatible with the economic, social, cultural and technological development to which the peoples of Latin America are entitled; eighth, to channel and support, on the international scene, the demands of the peoples of Latin America regarding just recognition of their rights in the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order; and, ninth, to uphold in every way possible the strengthening of the Parliaments of Latin America in order to guarantee the constitutional and democratic life of the States and to promote, by all means available and without prejudice to the principle of non-intervention, the re-establishment of those Parliaments that have been dissolved.

The draft resolution being discussed today is sponsored by the following Latin American countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. It also enjoys the sponsorship of Portugal and Spain, from which our own nationalities originated and countries with which we maintain links of all kinds.

The Latin American Parliament is a regional organization ratified by 11 Latin American States that are also Members of the United Nations, and these States believe that the Parliament would benefit considerably from being granted observer status in the United Nations and that it could contribute to the Organization's activities in the fields and within the geographical area of its competence. Members are no doubt aware that our multilateral Organization could also benefit from this contact, since Parliaments are the source of national legislation and approve the budgetary appropriations of our countries.

Hence, the countries I have the honour to represent ask that the Latin American Parliament be granted observer status in the General Assembly on terms similar to those that have been prescribed in respect of other intergovernmental organizations already enjoying that status.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now proceed to consider draft resolution A/48/L.3.

Before calling on the representatives who wish to speak in explanation of vote before the voting, may I remind delegations that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. ALONSO (Uruguay)*(interpretation from Spanish)*: The delegation of Uruguay wishes to be added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/48/L.3, under which observer status in the General Assembly of the United Nations would be granted to the Latin American Parliament.

The Latin American Parliament has played a very important role in consolidating democratic values in the fraternal countries that are part of the Latin American community. In my capacity as a member of the Parliament of my own country, as a member of the Latin American Parliament and as Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Commission of the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) I should like to state from my own personal standpoint what a pleasure it is for me to be able to participate in this extremely important decision.

Through this status the Latin American Parliament, and through it the parliamentarians of all its member States, will strengthen their presence in all international forums that, like the United Nations, seek to strengthen democratic systems in the world.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.3.

May I take it that the Assembly decides to adopt that draft resolution?

Draft resolution A/48/L.3 was adopted (resolution 48/4).

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the General Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 157?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 158

OBSERVER STATUS FOR THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY: DRAFT RESOLUTION A/48/L.6

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Sweden to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.6.

Mr. OSVALD (Sweden): I have the honour, in my capacity as representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to introduce draft resolution A/48/L.6 on observer status for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the General Assembly. San Marino and Tajikistan should be added to the list of sponsors of the draft resolution.

The decision to apply for Observer status for the CSCE is supported by all participating States of the CSCE, including Switzerland and the Holy See, which maintain permanent observer missions at the Headquarters of the United Nations.

At the Helsinki Summit in July 1992, the participating States of the CSCE declared their understanding that the CSCE is a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter, and that as such it provides an important link between European and global security. At the Stockholm meeting of the CSCE Council in December last year it was decided that the practical implications of this understanding should be examined. One of the conclusions reached in this examination was that the CSCE should apply for observer status in the General Assembly.

With a view to meeting the new challenges in the CSCE area, the CSCE is elaborating ways and means to strengthen its function to maintain and promote international peace and security within its area of competence. This includes instruments for early warning, conflict prevention and crisis management, as well as preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping.

Various types of CSCE long-term missions, focusing on early warning and conflict prevention, have accordingly been initiated in areas of the former Yugoslavia as well as in Estonia, Latvia, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia and Tajikistan. The CSCE also directs special efforts related to the conflict in and around Nagorny-Karabakh. CSCE missions are supervising the implementation of United Nations sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities also has activities in various parts of the CSCE area.

The so-called human-dimension mechanisms and institutions of the CSCE are being used increasingly as a major basis for efforts in areas such as early warning and long-term conflict prevention.

In all these efforts, close consultation and interaction with the United Nations is of the utmost importance - importance that is reflected in letters exchanged, in May this year, between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs as Chairman of the CSCE Council. These letters concerned a framework for cooperation and coordination between the United Nations Secretariat and the CSCE.

Regional organizations and arrangements are playing an increasingly important role in the maintenance of international peace and security. I am therefore convinced that the General Assembly will unanimously endorse the request of the CSCE to be invited to participate, as an observer, in the work of the Assembly. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will thus join other important regional organizations that have already been granted this status.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/48/L.6.

Draft resolution A/48/L.6 was adopted **(resolution 48/5).**

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Belgium for an explanation of vote.

May I remind representatives that explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. DEREYMAEKER (Belgium) *(interpretation from French)*: I have great pleasure in conveying the congratulations of the European Community and its member States to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), on which we have just conferred Observer status in the United Nations General Assembly.

Heads of State and Government of the CSCE have declared that, in accordance with the terms of the Helsinki Summit of July 1992, they regard the CSCE as a regional arrangement within the meaning of Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. This statement opens the way to increased cooperation between the United Nations and the CSCE, the framework for which was set out last May in letters exchanged between the Chairman in office of the CSCE - Mrs. af Ugglas, the Foreign Minister of Sweden - and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The granting to the CSCE of Observer status in the United Nations General Assembly merely illustrates the desire for increased cooperation.

During the course of the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly, we shall have an opportunity to return to various aspects of the question of cooperation between the two organizations.

The PRESIDENT: May I take it that it is the wish of the Assembly to conclude its consideration of agenda item 158?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.25 p.m.

United Nations
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
FORTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records

30th PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 14 October 1993 at 10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: I wish to begin by thanking the delegations that were present in the Hall at 10.05 a.m. today - that is, the delegations of Algeria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cambodia, Finland, Liechtenstein, Moldova, the Republic of Korea, Romania, the United Arab Emirates, the United States and Zambia.

AGENDA ITEM 127 *(continued)*

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/48/414/Add.7)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the General Assembly's attention to document A/48/414/Add.7. In a letter contained in that document, the Secretary-General informs me that since the issuance of his communications dated 21, 24, 27 and 29 September 1993 and 4, 6 and 11 October 1993 the Dominican Republic has made the payment necessary to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of that information?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: We must now wait for the representatives whose names are on the list of speakers for this morning to arrive. I would ask delegations to ensure that, when their names are on the list of speakers, they be here on time to address the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 10

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION (A/48/1)

Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We consider the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization to be particularly important and relevant because it provides an overview of how we can give effect to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in the present circumstances. The report identifies critical factors and the relationship between those factors, which, if fully understood, can help us make significant progress towards the achievement of the objectives shared by the entire international community. We thank the Secretary-General for the well-thought-out way he has described his conduct of his office and for highlighting subjects on which we must take decisions and those on which he seeks our guidance.

Venezuela fully shares the Secretary-General's conviction that the Organization has been able to respond decisively and creatively to the demands of today's international society and to the pre-eminent values of peace, democracy and development that have arisen as the unquestioned unifying factors in political action by Member States. As a founding country of the Organization, Venezuela shares this focus; these are the very values that underlie our domestic political order and our international activities.

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We particularly welcome the report's reiterated recognition that, despite the interrelation of these three factors - peace, democracy and development - and despite the world-wide spread of their scope, the State and national sovereignty remain the cornerstones of the Organization's ability to take concerted, consensual action in all aspects of its broad purview.

I wish to concentrate today on the Secretary-General's overview of the Organization. When the Assembly or its Main Committees consider other agenda items, we will have the opportunity to make more detailed comments on some of the many other matters the report deals with.

Along with the Secretary-General, we consider that, faced with a new range of responsibilities and, above all, potentialities for action, the Organization must give priority to re-evaluating itself so it can effectively adapt to new circumstances. In our view, the Secretary-General was right to shoulder the responsibility of challenging the status quo and proposing areas of political, organizational and management action to do so.

All Member States maintain an unflagging interest in the "Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). The "Agenda" is being put to the test in the numerous crises that have arisen over the past year. The Secretary-General's commitment to submit for our consideration an agenda for development, conceptually and operationally linked to the "Agenda for Peace" ensures that this fresh momentum will be all-encompassing and that the Organization will fulfil its duty to deal with each and every aspect of its Charter mandate.

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela has noted, we are convinced that we must work for a more democratic and more transparent Organization, in whose decision-making all Member States unreservedly feel they are fully participating.

As a non-permanent member of the Security Council over the past two years, Venezuela had the opportunity to see how useful the Security Council summit was; but we have also seen the need to find ways of enhancing transparency and openness in the Council's work, deliberations and decision-making. That process is under way; continuing it will broaden the Council's political ambit. The current procedures of the Council, given their present modalities and the scope of Council decisions, unquestionably require greater participation and responsibility by all Member States. Along with the process of reviewing the composition of the Council, this should achieve better balance and a greater sense of shared responsibility with the General Assembly, for the benefit of the entire Organization. We share the Secretary-General's belief that the needed reforms should be completed by the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

The very concept of threats to international peace and security is evolving. New situations are now ripe for collective action based on that concept. The newness of that concept has given rise to numerous questions as to the best way to meet the new demands. The Organization has responded with institutional instruments and, largely, with existing procedures. We wonder whether, if this trend continues, it is advisable for ever-greater responsibilities to be concentrated in the Security Council.

In our view, the link between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council suggested in the Secretary-General's report should not simply be ignored. We think the suggested relationship should be reversed. The Economic and Social Council should not draw the Security Council's attention to economic and social crises in order for the latter to take preventive action. Such preventive action is the very essence of the responsibilities of the Organization and of the entire United Nations system in the economic and social field. Nevertheless, we could explore a way for the Economic and Social Council, when a crisis arises, to contribute to the solution of the economic and social aspects of the crisis. Instead of adopting resolutions calling for economic and humanitarian assistance, recommending the establishment of voluntary funds, or promising action by the specialized agencies, the Security Council could recommend or request that the Economic and Social Council study and define the modalities for providing such necessary assistance as is possible, in all areas of its competence. That would achieve a better and more effective functional relationship between those two main organs, along with the participation of a larger number of Member States in the critical matters before the Organization. Combined with the ongoing process of restructuring and revitalization, this could lead to a more focused and active Economic and Social Council, fully involved in all items before the Organization. We should also consider whether, given its current operational mechanisms, the Economic and Social Council is really in a position to take on additional tasks. The Secretary-General's proposal for a high-level intersessional mechanism is especially relevant in this context.

We think that what is required, rather than a process of centralizing decision-making, is a process of segmentation, in order to give proper and full participation to every forum at our disposal.

The comments concerning the Economic and Social Council are also relevant to the International Court of Justice. We have seen how, in one situation addressed by the Security Council, the Council performed its duties without awaiting the outcome of the legal process provided for in an international convention. As was pointed out by the Secretary-General, the International Court of Justice, as a principal organ of the United Nations, must also perform its functions fully as "an integral part of United Nations peace efforts" (A/48/1, para. 64) when called upon to do so, and its activities should not be prejudiced or conditioned by those of other bodies. Failing this, we would be fostering selectivity that would not be conducive to strengthening the main legal body of the United Nations.

While this is of concern when the interests of political and legal solutions overlap, it is less so when the international community attempts to develop a broader legal system to respond to the new situations confronting it. We have seen, for example, that is has been necessary to establish a special Tribunal to pass judgement on serious violations of international human rights committed in the former Yugoslavia and that, for a few years now, there has been a proposal to create an international penal court. While the Secretary-General's concern to preserve the concept of a single and universal legal system may be reasonable, it is certain that reality extends beyond that *desideratum*. It would be worth while in the immediate future for Member States, with the Secretary-General's support, to consider at greater length and in greater detail the implications of the trends to which he calls our attention in his report.

Finally, in this attempt to respond to the ideas on United Nations bodies contained in the report, I should like to refer briefly to the Secretariat. Venezuela supports and generally welcomes the Secretary-General's initiatives aimed at improving the quality and commitment of the Organization's staff, rationalizing its structures to meet new demands, correcting the misuse of funds and reducing waste. We simply wish to point out that, as in any organization that attempts to answer to the most varied interests, this process would gain support if it was carried out consensually, first addressing the need to fulfil the existing mandates and in consultation with Member States.

The challenge before us is not only one of rationalization and increased efficiency: we also need to feel that we are playing an active part in a process that also involves the Secretary-General, the individual Member States, and the United Nations bodies through which the purposes and principles of the Charter are expressed.

Mr. INDERFURTH (United States of America): The United States is pleased to have this opportunity to express again its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his stewardship of the United Nations during what must surely be one of the most demanding years in the history of this Organization. The story of the sweep and scale of these 12 months is amply told in the comprehensive report before us today.

While many important themes are addressed, we will limit our comments to a few practical issues of particular importance and consequence: peace-related activities, the matter of interim United Nations offices, and the strengthening of United Nations activities in human rights, humanitarian affairs and development.

First, in the section entitled "Peace-keeping in a changing context", we welcome the Secretary-General's several timely and important proposals for strengthening management and support of the widening range of peace-related activities. Let me draw the attention of members of the Assembly to some of these.

First, we agree that robust and professional press and public-information activities are an integral part of peace-keeping. We welcome the attention this dimension of peace-keeping receives in the report and encourage the Secretary-General to take measures to strengthen it.

Secondly, we like the emphasis on improved training and civilian recruitment for peace-keeping missions and believe that aggressive steps in these areas should be made a very high priority.

Thirdly, we strongly endorse the proposal that the General Assembly create a system for appropriating, on an accelerated basis, some portion of the estimated cost of a peace-keeping operation, and we hope that the Fifth Committee will soon be able to turn its attention to this important issue.

Fourthly, we note that the United Nations has begun to make use of the services of commercial contractors to provide support services for United Nations field operations. So long as these contracts cover non-sensitive activities and are awarded on a competitive basis - open to bids from companies in all geographical regions - we believe they are a sound and appropriate response to rapidly growing demands.

Finally, we strongly welcome the incorporation of the Field Operations Division into the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and expect this change to strengthen

significantly the Department's executive authority for peace-keeping operations under the direction of the Secretary-General.

Turning to the economic and social sphere, another area of interest to the United States is the Secretary-General's proposal for the establishment of integrated offices in the newly independent States as well as in other locations. In general, the United States looks with favour on the principle underlying the Secretary-General's proposal. The improvement of coordination and the introduction of greater efficiency in United Nations system operations is a goal which the United States has long pursued throughout the entire range of intergovernmental forums. However, we believe that the proposal requires more analysis, input and discussion in order to ensure that the mechanisms which are set up perform efficiently and synergistically with the goals and objectives of United Nations agencies.

On development issues, the United States looks forward with interest to the proposals that the Secretary-General indicates will be forthcoming in his report "An agenda for development"; a preliminary report on the subject will be made available to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session. We are pleased that, in his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General indicated that his report will include guidelines for future United Nations action. The United States hopes that the report will help stimulate a more pragmatic discussion and work programme for furthering development.

Regarding the treatment of human rights in the report, we were gratified to read that "the effective safeguarding of human rights is possible only in a democratic framework" (A/48/1, para. 275) and that "the process of democratization cannot be separated from the protection of human rights" (ibid.). As President Clinton stated before this body during the general debate:

> "Our overriding purpose must be to expand and strengthen the world's community of market-based democracies." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting, p. 27*)

We are therefore in harmony with the Secretary-General. In addition, we believe that strengthening the role that the United Nations plays in human rights is an important goal for this Organization. This can best be accomplished through the creation of a post of high commissioner for human rights, and we hope to work with the Secretary-General to that end.

Mr. WISNUMURTI (Indonesia): It is a distinct honour and privilege for me to speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries on the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization (A/48/1). It is comprehensive and provides us with an overall view of what the United Nations is doing and what it is called upon to do, as well as proposals to strengthen its functioning and improve its efficiency. Indeed, it is more detailed than any that has been submitted in the past years, reflecting the enhanced stature and prestige of the Organization in various fields of its endeavour. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries is greatly indebted to our Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dedicated leadership in guiding the work of the Organization.

The past few years have witnessed a dramatic improvement in the climate in which the United Nations has functioned. The Secretary-General has rightly identified the comprehensive nature of the global challenges over the past year and thus the indispensability of the United Nations in addressing them. Such global challenges require an integrated approach to peace, security and development. "An Agenda for Peace" and an agenda for development, now at the preparatory stage, underscore the comprehensiveness and integrated nature of the new approach being enunciated by the Secretary-General. We fully agree that, given these challenges and the realities of our time, it is clear that this world Organization - the United Nations - has indeed become indispensable.

In the areas of peace and security, the United Nations role has been revitalized and rejuvenated, and within a short period of time the Organization has amassed a record of significant achievements. Peace-keeping and peacemaking activities launched in many areas of the world have gained new dimensions of unprecedented variety and scope. We agree that there is a second generation of peace-keeping involving political, military and humanitarian aspects, and that these should be dealt with in a unified and integrated manner. However, the Movement believes that these activities should be pursued in a balanced manner and accord fully with the sacrosanct principles that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States should not be infringed.

Likewise, we concur with the Secretary-General's assessment that development is now understood to involve many dimensions. No longer merely confined to economic policies and resources, it also includes political, social, educational and environmental factors.

The end of the cold war and the disappearance of ideological rigidities have also impacted on the role of the

Organization in the economic and social fields. In a number of other areas, ranging from the environment to population, the United Nations is also in the forefront of international efforts to manage transition and change.

However, as the Secretary-General's report makes clear, the post-cold-war era has not brought with it the termination of all conflict situations, as many continue unabated with no resolution in sight. Likewise, in spite of a climate more conducive to serious discussion and negotiation of economic and social issues, no substantive progress can be cited. Indeed, the heightened perception that the United Nations has become indispensable is not matched by the availability of adequate resources for the new opportunities offered by the post-cold-war period or the rapid transformation now under way in the global economy.

It is therefore with deepening concern that we view the financial crisis now facing the Organization. For while the Organization is staggering under the unprecedented expectation that it should deal effectively with a multiplicity of complex problems, it is being shackled by this perennial crisis. This paradox between demands and capacity cannot continue indefinitely without disastrous consequences for the aspirations of the international community for peace and development.

The non-aligned countries believe that the United Nations should become effective as the central and irreplaceable instrument for a new and revitalized international order. In these endeavours, the primary objective is to render the Organization more responsive to the changing realities and emerging challenges of peace and development. Hence, steps must be taken to ensure not only the financial viability of the Organization, but also its democratic functioning - that is, the fullest participation, consultation and engagement of all its Members in the work of the Organization. In this context, we are gratified to note in the report that the General Assembly is playing an increasingly practical role in world activities. As the General Assembly has grown in membership, its expanded activities include addressing issues relating to the maintenance of international peace and security. Clearly, there is also a need for streamlining and revitalizing the work of the Assembly. Through such an approach, the Assembly could more clearly define its work programme and impart greater importance and authority to its decisions.

At the same time, the non-aligned countries are committed to establishing a balanced relationship between the General Assembly and other principal organs of the United Nations. In this context, it is essential to ensure the democratization of the Security Council, in line with the reform of the United Nations aimed at bringing about greater democratization and transparency in the work of all United Nations bodies. A review of the membership of the Security Council has become imperative in the light of the profound changes that have taken place on the international scene. Such a reappraisal should be comprehensive in nature so as to enhance its effectiveness and credibility, provide equitable and balanced representation and facilitate the participation of small and medium-sized States, which constitute the majority of the Organization. We hope that a decision concerning the restructuring of the Security Council will be reached prior to the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization. Furthermore, we also endorse the proposal for periodic meetings of the Council at the ministerial level. In this context, while we welcome the observation of the Secretary-General that membership is of critical importance, it is equally critical that other aspects relating to the functioning of the Security Council be fully acknowledged.

As to the Economic and Social Council, we agree with the Secretary-General that the Council must now receive greater attention than it did during the cold war. We want even more to see the Council function fully, in accordance with its mandate enshrined in the Charter. Yet we note with regret the failure at the forty-seventh session of the Assembly to reach consensus on restructuring the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields. On the question of the Economic and Social Council's providing the Security Council with reports on certain situations that threaten peace, we believe that such a practice would run counter to the Non-Aligned Movement's position on the need to achieve a balanced relationship between the principal organs of the United Nations.

Peace-keeping activities are now being utilized in historically unprecedented ways. Consequently, the uncertainty and discord concerning the composition, command and control, financing, mandate and time-frame of peace-keeping operations, as well as the safety of their personnel, have often impeded their effectiveness. It is important to search for ways and means in which consensus could be built to ensure global support for these activities. To this end, the roles of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General will require a careful reassessment.

The non-aligned countries are gratified to note that, in the context of restricting and resolving conflict situations, the Secretary-General has undertaken numerous initiatives

and actions which have established a framework to facilitate a peaceful settlement in accordance with relevant resolutions. The Movement will resolutely support his endeavours to enhance the efficacy of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peacemaking operations, in which many non-aligned countries have served and will continue to serve.

In the economic sphere, the report contains a number of interesting and important ideas, notably on the concept of development. Of particular importance to the Movement is that the vast potential of the Organization is being brought to bear in a new and refreshing way on the need for development and the eradication of poverty. At its Jakarta Summit, the Movement succeeded in putting development and the eradication of poverty back at the top of its agenda as a central imperative of this new post-cold-war era. We therefore enthusiastically anticipate the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on the agenda for development as a watershed in international cooperation for development. The Non-Aligned Movement hopes that with this report development will finally be accorded as much emphasis as is given to the political agenda.

In the view of the Secretary-General, the Organization's work in the economic and social fields appears to be less focused than its work in the political sector, due to the proliferation of intergovernmental bodies in those sectors and their lack of coordination. While this may be true, we should not discount the lack of political will in the equation. In any efforts to increase coordination, the new orientation and focus on development should not be ignored. In this context, it is pertinent to state that any structural changes to be undertaken by the Secretary-General should be subject to approval by the relevant intergovernmental bodies.

We in the Non-Aligned Movement are also pleased that the Secretary-General has dealt deftly and cogently with the conceptual aspects of the changing world realities as they relate to development and its interlinkages with peace, stability and democracy. We see the contours of such a concept emerging. At its Summit last year, our Movement committed itself to wage war on poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment and to advance broad-based people-centred development, including the promotion of human resources for development. It also sought to accelerate development based on equitable distribution, growth and stability. The Movement can therefore agree with the Secretary-General's assertion that there can be no flowering of development without the parallel advancement of democratization, especially over the long term. It is important to point out, however, that democracy, like development, is an evolutionary process and can best grow and flourish by being nurtured gradually in keeping with a country's norms and traditions. There is no single formula for democracy applicable to all countries, as we fully recognize the existence of economic, social and cultural differences.

As emphasized in the report, there is also a need for democratization between countries. Yet, in the section on developing the global community, the Secretary-General pointed to the shocking fact, as he put it, that the widening gap between the richest and poorest countries was more often than not greeted by indifference. As the United Nations has a pivotal role in bridging this gap, we look forward to the fulfilment of the Secretary-General's promise to set out fully the United Nations approach to development in an agenda for development. The Movement fully supports this initiative and is fully committed to participating in the forthcoming discussions on the preliminary report before the end of the forty-eighth session.

In like manner, in addressing the widening gap and the unacceptable trends in the world economy and global economic relations, as well as in recognizing the growing interdependence of nations and the globalization of issues and problems, the Non-Aligned Movement is very much aware that piecemeal and ad hoc remedies are not the answer. Unilateral, bilateral or regional approaches are not adequate either. Rather, such issues must be comprehensively and globally addressed. Thus the Movement saw no alternative to generating international cooperation for development, and has in consequence called for a reactivation of the dialogue and partnership between North and South. This time, however, the Movement sees the dialogue as being based on the economic imperatives of mutual interests and benefits, genuine interdependence and shared responsibility. We thus see the dialogue and the agenda for development as complementary and compatible; together they can enable the international community to come to terms with the fundamental questions of overcoming underdevelopment and poverty in developing countries, particularly in Africa.

Regarding the social issues covered in the report, the non-aligned countries welcome the Secretary-General's integrated approach in addressing economic and social development issues, as well as the progress already made in the preparations for the World Summit for Social Development. We look forward to the completion of the preparatory studies for the conference, which are under way, and to the definition of attainable social development objectives.

On the advancement of women, we appreciate the Secretary-General's work in outlining a number of steps being taken to give greater coherence to the activities of the United Nations, and we hope that this will contribute to the success of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women.

Finally, with regard to the outcome of the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna, the report has rightly highlighted the importance of the need for cooperation between Member States as a central element in furthering these goals. In this regard, the Movement notes with satisfaction that the report stressed the right to development and the need for an effective partnership of all those concerned in order to promote those goals.

In the present global setting, mutual interaction and linkages between political and economic problems are self-evident. In an increasingly interdependent world, the political stability and economic well-being of both developed and developing countries has become more intertwined. As the problems we face assume global proportions, in their scope and in their consequences, they call for a globalized effort to find solutions. The emergence of a new, more equitable and rational world order can come about only through sustained international cooperation and dialogue, conducted within a coherent, integrated and comprehensive approach as called for by the Secretary-General.

Mr. REMÍREZ DE ESTENOZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased that we are having this debate on the report of the Secretary-General, thus resuming the healthy practice of considering annually in the General Assembly a document whose contents generally go beyond reviewing the activities of the Organization in the past year to outlining the future work of the United Nations.

Unfortunately, in a debate such as this it is not possible to consider in depth every aspect of the report. Therefore, we shall focus on its general approach and on some of the elements which my delegation feels are the most important.

The Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report, recognizes that

> "States and their sovereignty are ... indispensable building-blocks of international order and problem-solving" (*A/48/1, para. 13*)

and he confirms that "the State and its national sovereignty" (ibid., para. 14) are the essential link between the isolated individual and the increasingly complex world in which he finds himself. He also points out:

> "Without State sovereignty, the very instrument of international cooperation might be destroyed and international organization might itself become impossible". (*ibid., para. 16*)

Earlier in his report, the Secretary-General makes it clear that, in his estimation,

> "democratization must not only take hold inside a State, but among States in the international community". (*ibid., para. 10*)

Similarly, he refers repeatedly in the introduction to the importance of the problems of development and to the role our Organization must play in solving them. We fully agree with the Secretary-General that development activities

> "provide the foundations for global security and stability". (*ibid., para. 22*)

We make specific mention of these concepts because their being in the introduction might well lead an unwary reader to believe that they are the cornerstone of the document as a whole and its philosophical basis. Unfortunately, there is little to inspire such hope.

It can be seen throughout the report - it is a constant - that the problems of development of the third world, which are one of the main tragedies facing the contemporary world, have in practice been subordinated to the implementation of new concepts supposedly aimed at preserving international peace and security. The priorities have been changed, and in the report the necessary balance between peace-keeping and the duties of the United Nations with regard to international cooperation for development has been lost.

It is troubling to note that, in the efforts to implement the so-called integrated approach of the United Nations - an approach based, according to the report, on peace and security, democracy, human rights and development, in that order - not only does the integrated nature which supposedly gave its name to that approach disappear, but there is also an inversion in the pyramid which for decades we in the developing countries have been demanding. Development and international cooperation to achieve development must be the main concern of this

development must be the main concern of this Organization, and not other mechanisms, which - besides responding to very specific and partial interests - constitute a major potential for interference. Similarly, with the anticipated order of priorities, circumstances are being created for new conditions to emerge, a prelude to which we have already noted with concern in various mechanisms in the Organization.

The unbridled proliferation of peace-keeping operations and the increased efforts to institute so-called preventive diplomacy, with a costly early-warning system; the creation of a General Staff of the Organization, without even a specific mandate to do so; and the new practices for peacemaking, imposing peace and post-conflict peace-building - to mention but a few of the new concepts - has led to the limited resources of the Organization being increasingly dissipated.

Has there perhaps been a proportional increase in resources devoted to cooperation for development? Has priority perhaps been given to those resources which countless United Nations resolutions and declarations have demanded for decades? Are those funds not perhaps going to programme and budgetary procedures for the sake of other activities?

On the contrary, the resources devoted to peace-keeping operations - which, moreover, we the States Members of the Organization provide, imposing a heavy burden on the marginalized South - are so abundant, and the prospects for more such operations so ambitious, that they have induced the Secretary-General to imply in his report that they exceed the capacity of the Organization.

But, just as dangerous as the inversion of priorities to which we have referred, are their side effects in practically all spheres of the work of the Organization. We have noted with concern that not only has the primacy of the Security Council - with all the structural defects in membership and operating procedures from which it suffers - been confirmed in the report, but there is also a reiteration of the appeal for still further increases in the Council's power, subordinating other principal bodies to its decisions. Paragraph 42, for example, which in a mere proposal summarizes the philosophy underlying this entire document, would subordinate the role of the Economic and Social Council to the Security Council, broaden the mandate of the Security Council to all spheres of United Nations activity, and be a further step towards the objective of transforming the Security Council into a sort of world government.

The fact that in paragraph 6 of the report it is affirmed that

> "The second generation of peace-keeping is certain to involve not only military but also political, economic, social, humanitarian and environmental dimensions" (*A/48/1, para. 6*)

appears to be heading in a similar direction, considering that it is the Security Council which is the organ entrusted with such operations.

The re-establishment of balance would necessarily imply that the General Assembly resume in practice the functions related to peace-keeping and the peaceful settlement of controversies entrusted to it in the Charter.

The Secretary-General complains, in paragraph 22 of the report, and quite rightly, that the attention of the media is focused on peace-keeping operations, giving the impression that other aspects are being ignored. We have to wonder, first of all, whether the media are wrong. Could it perhaps be that the press has clearly seen the situation for what it is and that our Organization, on the basis of its new and questionable priorities, has given cause for such perceptions?

The Secretariat, to mention another example, also suffers the side effects of the inversion of priorities. We need only note the trend towards transferring personnel hired under the regular budget of the Organization to peace-keeping operations without replacing them. It is difficult for us to believe that the work of 1,200 employees of the Secretariat can be absorbed by others without adversely affecting the programmes of the Organization which are not related to peace-keeping operations and which have been duly mandated by the appropriate legislative bodies.

The delegations themselves - why not say it aloud? - are also made to suffer these effects. While it is true that there are unpaid contributions, which diminish the resources available to the Organization, it is also quite true that the costs of carrying out certain activities, such as the establishment of a General Staff, situations rooms and other measures whose legislative mandates are also very questionable, absorb a great deal of resources which, in practice, could be devoted to satisfying needs in the areas of documents, interpretation and other services to delegations of the Member States, which are in reality the *raison d'être* of this Organization. Savings should be made elsewhere and not at the expense of the delegations representing the Members of the United Nations, as

recognized in paragraph 83 of the report. Perhaps the approach adopted in 1985 and 1986, when certain circumstances reduced the financial capacity of the Organization, would be a good precedent. At that time, all of the measures to effect savings were taken in full consultation with the General Assembly.

The fact that the States, and therefore the Governments they represent, are at the very centre of the activities of the United Nations can be neither forgotten nor set aside when considering the future programmes and activities of the Organization, in keeping, also, with the principle of the sovereign equality of all States. This calls not only for determining philosophical, political and economic concepts, to which primacy should be given, but also means that decisions as to the future course of the Organization must be taken strictly by the relevant intergovernmental bodies and not by other mechanisms not made up of Member States.

In this context, it is particularly important to recall that the General Assembly is the principal body of the Organization and that its decisions are not opinions of the Member States but, rather, mandates the Secretariat is obliged to carry out. The report contains numerous examples of how this reality is ignored. It is fitting to recall here that the question of competence of the various bodies of the United Nations and of balance that must exist between the main bodies is one of the current debates in our Organization and, hence, we do not deem it appropriate for positions to be taken that might prejudge the decisions adopted by the various intergovernmental bodies, particularly the General Assembly.

Paragraph 80 of the report deserves special attention. In our opinion, the establishment of the new post of Assistant Secretary-General for Inspections and Investigations must be considered very closely. We feel that it would be more appropriate to strengthen internal controls, such as investigation, inspection, evaluation and accounting, but the key to success in this task would be, in our view, to strengthen the existing intergovernmental external control mechanisms. We shall expand on our comments in the appropriate forums, but we feel that in this area as well, the Member States should play a central role.

The points made in the section of the report dealing with the restructuring of the Secretariat are of particular interest. I refer especially to paragraphs 86 and 90. The General Assembly awaits submission of the third stage in the restructuring, which relates to regional decentralization and to decentralization in the field. We feel that measures in this connection should not be pursued until approval has been given.

An obvious illustration of this is the explanation, contained in paragraphs 102 to 106, of the so-called interim offices, about which there are many doubts among many Member States. These offices - which we feel are at the very apex of the inverted pyramid that there is an attempt to apply, on the basis of the concept of a more integrated approach in the work of the Organization - are unacceptable. The broad gamut of functions dealt with goes far beyond preventive diplomacy and the compiling of information and includes the coordination of activities in the field. In effect, these functions are regarded as being those of an embassy of the United Nations, for which there is no General Assembly mandate. We could discuss a coordinated presence in the field, but exclusively for the functions to which General Assembly resolution 47/199 relates.

Similarly, we wonder what is the origin of the mandate of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, which, according to the report:

> "will link its activities with the early-warning capabilities being developed in the political and humanitarian sectors of the Organization". (*A/48/1, para. 130*)

The same applies to some of the functions which, according to paragraph 139, are assigned to the Department for Development Support and Management Services.

One of the matters with which we feel the report should deal in greater detail relates to the nature of peace-keeping operations, particularly in the light of paragraphs 276 to 278 and paragraph 291, as they tend to alter the very concept of these important activities. The attempt to question the principle of the consent of the parties for the initiation of operations seems to reflect the concept of limited sovereignty, which is very much in vogue in certain sectors, and which we feel contradicts the emphasis that the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report, puts on sovereignty. We are firmly convinced that any United Nations action within the framework of "An Agenda for Peace" should adhere strictly to the decisions adopted by the General Assembly on the subject and should conform to the basic principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

It is also essential that those United Nations activities be undertaken following a case-by-case analysis, without

creating precedents, as the circumstances in which these elements evolve are necessarily different. Therefore we note, and we are concerned at, the assertion made in paragraph 282 of the report.

In view of all we have said, we should like to sound a warning concerning the continued references, direct or indirect, to the assumption that at this stage it is the job of the United Nations to get involved in situations that come exclusively within the jurisdiction of Member States. Continuing along that road could lead to unacceptable interference and to violation of the sovereignty of Member States - especially States in the third world.

Paragraphs 251 and 252, as well as paragraph 255, in chapter III D, which is entitled "Protection of human rights", call for specific mention. In the case of the first two of these paragraphs, we do not know what mandates have led to a change in the functions of the Centre for Human Rights and what procedures have been followed for that purpose. In that regard, my delegation sent the Secretary-General a letter, which we hope has been made available to all delegations. With regard to paragraph 255, the Vienna Conference highlighted the universal nature of human rights but, equally, made the point that these rights are indivisible, interdependent and interlinked. We believe that partial or selective reference to international instruments of this kind may well be counter-productive and may lead to confusion.

Further, paragraph 262, on the same subject, derives from an interpretation of the results of the Vienna Conference that we do not share. It should not be forgotten that the introduction of the human rights dimension into United Nations activities concerning *inter alia* peacemaking, peace-keeping and preventive diplomacy - to mention but a few areas - must only be invoked pursuant to a request from the States involved in a conflict, and that such action cannot be determined by any outside agency.

The Secretary-General's report contains so many important and interesting elements that it would take a much longer and more comprehensive statement to mention all of them. We should like to be able to comment, for example, on the regional tribunals, or the specific items mentioned in paragraph 66, or the possibility - mentioned in paragraph 64 - of the Secretary-General's turning to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. In the meantime, we shall simply express our agreement with the Secretary-General as to the importance of securing, within the framework of the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament, a negotiating mandate for the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test Ban. The international community has been making this appeal for many years. Such a step would make possible the drafting of a treaty on the subject.

We trust that the Secretary-General will take advantage of the opportunity offered by the drafting of an agenda for development, as requested by the General Assembly, to rectify an impression that may have been given that the basic economic and social problems affecting the third world have been relegated to a lower level in the work of the Organization.

Cuba is prepared to engage in dialogue, in any United Nations forum, on any of the items with which the Organization deals. We disagree with the Secretary-General as regards many aspects, but there are many in respect of which we agree with him. As a State Member of this Organization, we are prepared to work seriously, flexibly and in depth, without insisting on any arrangements, and in any manner by which the Organization could be made more just, more equitable, more transparent and more efficient and able to abide by the principles enshrined in the Charter. To that end, we are at your disposal, Mr. President, and at the disposal of the Secretary-General and of the other Members of this Organization.

Mr. JARAMILLO (Colombia) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: The Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization:

> "Without peace there can be no development and there can be no democracy. Without development, the basis for democracy will be lacking and societies will tend to fall into conflict. And without democracy, no sustainable development can occur; without such development, peace cannot be maintained." *(A/48/1, para. 11)*

We are pleased to see that the Secretary-General has taken up again the integrated approach to development that I have put forward on many occasions on behalf of the Group of 77.

Development must be integrated. These three elements - development, democracy and peace - are closely linked and are the central axis of progress for peoples. The international community faces the challenge of democratic development to achieve peace, which indicates that the fundamental need of peoples is that of being able to satisfy their basic economic needs in order to begin building harmonious and democratic societies. Solid and

lasting peace is therefore a result of economic, political and social development.

The work of the Organization consists precisely in finding the right mechanisms to fulfil these three objectives. It cannot give primacy to one at the expense of the others, for the fulfilment of any decision intended to do so brings serious consequences. The actions taken by the United Nations must be the correct ones in this new era of international relations, when the Organization's credibility is at stake.

Putting the complete blame for the crisis on the question of security relegates to the sidelines the economic and political aspects of international reality. Hence, the tendency to use the mechanism of peace-keeping operations while overlooking other tools set out in the United Nations Charter reduces the possibility of finding integrated, long-term solutions.

The proliferation of complex, multidimensional peace-keeping operations indicates that this mechanism is being given priority, and the decision to resort to it has not necessarily contributed to a more peaceful and harmonious world. The disorderly development of some peace-keeping operations casts doubt on the Organization's ability to manage conflicts. The basic reason for this is that the United Nations has exceeded the spirit of its original aims. Intervention in a country's internal power struggles without studying its true and objective connection with international peace and security changes the face of the mediating capacity of the United Nations.

There is thus an urgent need for systematic, universal and open reflection on this question of interest to all Member States. The very high costs of peace-keeping operations constitute an unprecedented financial burden for the national budgets of Member States striving to meet their development needs.

During the cold war, the super-Powers assumed the costs of conflicts that occurred in their zones of influence. Today those costs have been transferred to the Organization and have become universal, thus diverting the funds of all States that could be earmarked for economic- and social-development projects.

In view of those considerations, it is essential to reconsider and review critically the nature of the objectives and the duration and scope of the mandates of the peace-keeping operations, in all their aspects. A critical evaluation of the results of peace-keeping operations is therefore necessary, and in that evaluation each facet of the operations must be thoroughly examined: their dynamics, their duration, the process of establishing them, their composition and their objectives in the light of the nature of the crisis each is intended to deal with.

While the United Nations, according to the preamble to the Charter, seeks "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war", a great many of the present peace-keeping operations have not been successful in fulfilling that objective. Current peace-keeping operations have not established a more stable international order, contrary to the Secretary-General's claims. Recent peace-keeping operations have more often than not resulted in new conflicts of greater dimensions.

Faced with the alternative of establishing peace-keeping operations indiscriminately, as has been done in recent months, we should ensure that the criterion of selectivity again becomes pre-eminent. The United Nations cannot become a body of partial intervention in countries' internal conflicts. Each crisis and each conflict must be considered carefully, together with its own evolution and particular features. In order to avoid consequences that undermine the credibility and the achievement of the objectives sought in settling disputes, each one should be understood in all its dimensions before a peace-keeping operation is launched.

The structure, mandate, relevance and dimensions of peace-keeping operations should spring from open, transparent and concerted reflection by the Member States of the Organization. It is up to them collectively, as the main actors, to define the new paths in international peace and security. The tendency to dilute this fundamental principle amounts to disregarding the guiding objectives established in the Charter.

Concerned by the apparent increase in new and dangerous ideas about defining the concept of the State and of the United Nations in the international system, as presented to us by the Secretary-General in his report, we consider it pertinent to recall in this forum that the United Nations is not and has never been "more than the sum of its parts" (A/48/1, para. 512). The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization composed of sovereign States that participate on an equal footing and take decisions by majority or consensus. The concept of the State is at the very core of the international system. The internationalization of world processes is not evidence of the disappearance of the State. In that phenomenon the State still prevails, as the sole sovereign entity in the international system.

The State is the actor and the constant in the international system. The fragmentation of the nation-State, as can be seen in various regions of the world, creates instability and trauma. It is paradoxical that while respect for and observance of human rights is being promoted, individual and collective tolerance cannot be relied on to maintain and hold together inter-cultural, inter-ethnic and pluri-religious societies. Rather than taking their identity from abstract universal and global values, peoples take their identity from shared national values engendered by their collective evolution within States.

In this context, the United Nations is a grouping of sovereign States which individually formed the political will to come together in a multilateral Organization. Therefore, on the international stage the State plays the principal role. Regional organizations and the United Nations system play only the role that Member States assign them. Thus it is that Member States are the axis of the United Nations system, and the various organs that constitute it are subordinate to the sovereign political will of those States. Any other interpretation of this relationship with the Organization is erroneous, irrelevant and dangerous to harmonious and democratic development.

The Organization must therefore maintain its universal nature, which means that all Member States participate in the decision-making process on an equal footing. The principle of transparency applies to all aspects of United Nations activities, including those relating to peace-keeping and the maintenance of international peace and security. Any recasting of the Organization cannot ignore these basic principles of its creation and constitution.

I should like to refer briefly to our concept of the United Nations organs, always keeping open, of course, the possibility of returning to this and other subjects in greater detail and at greater length at the appropriate time.

The General Assembly is the principal body of a universal character. All States Members of the Organization are represented, with equal sovereignty. Therefore, revitalizing the Assembly is basic to the ongoing process of changing and reviewing the system.

The Security Council, of course, needs to be reformed. The international community needs a more open, more deliberative and more transparent Security Council, one that better reflects the new composition of the Organization and the new international reality. Reform must include a review of the veto, the number of permanent and non-permanent members and the Council's rules of procedure.

With regard to the Secretary-General, it should be noted that he is not autonomous and that his mandate emanates from the duties entrusted to him by the principal organs of the Organization. As is stated in Chapter XV of the Charter, the Secretary-General is the chief administrative officer of the Organization; he is exclusively an international official, responsible only to the Organization.

Since 1945 the General Assembly has provided the framework for the departments of the United Nations in the operational area. Those departments have never been given any political dimension. Any attempt to do so has consistently been rejected in the discussions on the issue in the Assembly. We must recall the reservations a great number of States have on this question. The search for efficiency cannot be carried out through the creation of a series of temporary departments.

The United Nations is not a State, and therefore the concept of broadening the political sphere of the roles of the United Nations Resident Coordinators is unacceptable. Such initiatives distort the legitimate nature of those departments in Member States which deal exclusively with operational activities, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

In the United Nations, political functions are governed by rules that are completely different from those governing operational activities. The Security Council and the Commission on Human Rights are clear examples of this. Each has its own mechanism for dealing with delicate political questions and for dealing with the matter of representation. This is a further reason why we are totally opposed to the idea of broadening the political scope of the functions of Resident Coordinators, a notion that has been advanced under the pretext of rationalization and increasing the Organization's efficiency.

In conclusion, we should like to make clear our support for the Secretary-General in all his efforts to reduce costs, increase efficiency and eradicate corruption within the Organization, and to congratulate and thank him for a detailed, comprehensive and exhaustive report, which has brought us together here to discuss the activities of the Organization. We hope that that same format and detailed information will be found in the reports of other principal organs, especially that of the Security Council.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: I have two announcements relating to our work.

First, I propose that the list of speakers in the debate on the Secretary-General's report be closed today at 12.30 p.m. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly accepts that proposal.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

Secondly, members will recall that at its third plenary meeting on 24 September the General Assembly decided to hold four plenary meetings on Tuesday and Wednesday, 26 and 27 October, to examine, under agenda item 112, "International drug control", the status of international cooperation against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotics and psychotropic substances. I wish to propose, in view of the large number of Member States already inscribed on the list of speakers, that the length of statements be limited to 10 minutes. Members' cooperation will be sincerely appreciated.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees with the proposal.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 10 (*continued*)

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION (A/48/1)

Mr. VILCHEZ ASHER (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We support the statement made on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and its Chairman. My country is proud to be a member of that group.

In referring to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, I harbour the hope that with the end of the cold war the United Nations will continue to perform, and will gain strength in, its essential task of establishing a new international order in which peace and progress prevail in accordance with the tenets of the Charter. To that end, the United Nations should support and promote economic and social development throughout the world and the consolidation of universal and interdependent democratic values.

Our country supports the view that the development of mankind is now universal in nature and that therefore its realization requires new political initiatives and broad, coordinated global efforts, which, by their very nature, can be made only by the United Nations. Therefore, our Organization is more indispensable today than ever.

We should like on this occasion to reaffirm our country's commitment to play a determined role in the task of building a new international order, with equity, justice and a life of dignity for our peoples. In carrying out that fine and arduous task, our country approves and supports all efforts and policies designed to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the United Nations system. In that spirit, we support the initiatives to ensure effective attainment of the purposes of the Charter.

With regard to the functioning of the General Assembly, we support the suggestions for revitalizing the General Assembly's work put forward by the Secretary-General in his report, especially those that have to do with rationalizing the Assembly's work, taking a good look at the format of resolutions and assessing whether there is a real need for many of the reports. We feel, incidentally, that if the General Assembly is to be made more effective, the role of the President must be strengthened.

We believe that the Security Council must be reformed. We are in favour of increasing the number of permanent and non-permanent members in line with the number of new Members of the Organization, and believe that countries representing Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America should be included; this would be a credible expression of the changes that are taking place in the world, and would strengthen an effective democratization of the Council's decision-making process.

Also, we support all measures aimed at strengthening our Organization financially. Many have been proposed by the Secretary-General in his report. We also appeal to all the countries that are in arrears with the United Nations to make efforts to fulfil their financial obligations. By doing so, they would contribute to increasing and improving the Organizations's efficiency and effectiveness in carrying out the many tasks it is now performing, both at Headquarters and in various regions world wide.

We wish to alert the Assembly to the fact that, as we seek a new international order, the breach between the rich few and the many poor nations is widening dangerously,

and that this yawning gap has been further widened in our own nations by war, instability and underdevelopment. If this negative trend continues, the goals of consolidating peace, economic development and social well-being will be difficult to achieve. This situation should be better reflected in the Secretary-General's report.

Speeding up the economic growth which brings with it the increased social investment that ensures the majority's right to health care, social security, education and jobs is becoming a matter of urgency: in other words, it is urgent that we satisfy the basic needs of our peoples. These priorities should be studied more thoroughly.

Just a few days ago, before the Assembly, our President said that:

> "We need to build a democracy, reconstruct a wounded society and compete economically with the world, all while following an economic adjustment plan that leaves us no resources for social investment. ..." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 8th meeting, p. 11)*

This situation is not just; neither is it acceptable, and even less is it democratic. And it deserves the international community's understanding.

We believe that the United Nations and the international financial bodies must support the developing countries - and in particular those countries going through difficult transitions - in seeking alternative policies against underdevelopment and crisis that have as their basis equity and social justice. We also need, from the international financial community, more sympathy with and understanding of our agonizing economic and social problems.

We are convinced that to build a new world order what is needed is more dialogue - and constant consultation - between the developed and the developing world. We therefore support the revitalization of the North-South dialogue urged by the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, and we believe that the United Nations must give greater priority to such initiatives.

We believe that the Secretary-General's report must also deal with key trade aspects, and, in this connection, we desire fair and non-discriminatory treatment for our exports, as well as adjustment policies that take into account social investment and benefit the great majority of our people; without such treatment and policies, there is no way that we can consolidate peace, preserve democracy, achieve social justice and, in the case of Central America, turn our region into a region of peace, democracy, freedom and development.

We note with satisfaction that the United Nations is taking new steps towards strengthening the international system for protecting and promoting human rights. The activities of the Centre for Human Rights and the results of the Vienna Conference represent significant contributions; Nicaragua fully supports them. We share with the Secretary-General the conviction that there is a need for more States to ratify all the international human rights instruments.

We believe that the development of preventive diplomacy is closely linked to finding solutions for wide-ranging economic and development problems and also to countries' readiness to come into the innovative mechanisms being established by the United Nations. In this connection, we support all the Secretary-General's, and our Organization's, efforts and initiatives.

Within this framework, our country supports the request made by the Government of Guatemala to the United Nations that it come out firmly in support of the national dialogue that could lead to complete peace in that sister country.

We also support implementation of the Security Council's resolutions and punctilious fulfilment of the Governors Island Agreement on Haiti, and we strongly urge the political forces in that country to respect that Agreement and restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power.

We congratulate the United Nations and the Secretary-General on the success of their mission in El Salvador, where they have managed to achieve peace and promote national dialogue and reconciliation as civilized norms of human behaviour. The multidisciplinary nature of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) leads us to believe that what is already called this United Nations Mission's "Salvadorian model" could be tried in other regions.

As in the case of ONUSAL, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) has also just come to a very successful conclusion. As a result of UNTAC, a Government has been established on the basis of free and democratic elections supported by the majority of the Cambodian people, a Government that can as a result continue the peace process that has been initiated

and steer our sister country of Cambodia onto the path towards development and well-being; the Government can do this as part of a democracy that is guaranteed by a restored constitutional monarchy symbolizing the unity of the Cambodian people.

The success of the United Nations missions in El Salvador and Cambodia tells us that when peoples are determined to seek and win national peace and reconciliation and achieve economic growth and development to benefit the majority, United Nations missions - if they have clear objectives and the right focus - have a great likelihood of succeeding. The international community and the financial institutions should therefore continue to provide assistance and cooperation in order to safeguard the already sustained and lasting success of many of these missions and to ensure that any progress made is not reversed and that crises do not become permanent.

On another note, we regret the increasing difficulties being experienced by the Organization, and the countries involved, in efforts to achieve peace, re-establish order and restart the development process, both in the countries of the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia. It is clear, however, that without a United Nations presence the consequences of these conflicts could have been even more painful. We agree with the Secretary-General in his recognition that

> "... The vast potential of the world Organization has been recognized and has begun to be employed in the establishment of a more stable world order: as a strengthened voice for the poorest countries ...", *(A/48/1, para. 2)*

amongst other important objectives.

We believe that, with the end of the East-West conflict, there is a historic opportunity for international peace and security to be built on the basis of new international realities that attach greater importance to the problems of development and to multilateral approaches to solving conflicts by peaceful and negotiated means. The Secretary-General's report, indeed, tells us so in various ways. We also need to ensure that the United Nations becomes the determining mechanism *par excellence* for maintaining peace in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

Our country also agrees with the Secretary-General when he says that

> "Without peace, there can be no development and there can be no democracy. Without development, the basis for democracy will be lacking and societies will tend to fall into conflict. And without democracy, no sustainable development can occur; without such development, peace cannot long be maintained." *(ibid., para. 11)*

That is exactly the nature of the recurrent crisis in the developing countries.

Given this guiding light of truth on the subject of development, we believe that the United Nations now, more than ever, plays a determining role. We must ensure that the Organization and the Secretary-General act, and continue to act, with a sense of urgency to renew the United Nations commitment to development. Nicaragua supports, and will continue to support, the initiative to draft an agenda for development to complement the "Agenda for Peace", and we welcome the Secretary-General's assurances that the agenda for development will be something more than just another development theory: we hope that it will fulfil the aspirations of our peoples.

In the Secretary-General's report, he gives expression to the realism that we need in viewing and studying the development of the international situation. Realism, in our opinion, is the most useful tool for building a more just and equitable world society.

Today, after the end of the cold war, it is once again possible to fulfil the lofty purposes of the Charter. The United Nations, in so doing, can rely on the support of the world community, and its actions will therefore have to take human development as their basic premise. Respect for human rights, for development and for peace - our most heartfelt desires - must be the legacy we leave to succeeding generations. Only thus shall we be able to make this world a better place, and only thus can we make every human being an exemplar of social justice and liberty.

Mr. GOLOB (Slovenia): The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/48/1) is certainly excellent and very instructive. It is a reminder that United Nations activities do not represent an end in themselves and that they do not provide a sense of true satisfaction. The report is an expression of the endeavours and deep dedication of United Nations personnel, and we understand it as a call for a critical examination. We also understand the report as a timely invitation to think about, and to try to peer behind, the everyday scene of international affairs.

There is wide agreement that we are living in a world that is changing rapidly, at least in some respects. It has become almost a cliché that the world is experiencing great changes, so it may be of some use to say something about these changes. Change, to our mind, is like a conveyor belt - endless and ever-moving. It seems to have a habit of moving in fits, leaps, bounds and rebounds. An exhilaration at change is certainly understandable, but that is not enough; it is also necessary to understand where changes come from and where they are leading. Of no less importance is perceiving the implication of the "why's" and "where to's", since we are faced with the need to accept them.

Change, with its many faces, is causing some to rejoice while provoking stress and apprehension in others, but it certainly is a vehicle for the brave, for the bold and for the forward-looking. Change is making more visible the fact that there is no single remedy for all situations and that attempts to manage these changes therefore carry great responsibility. The United Nations has been, throughout its existence, a vehicle of change. It has managed to be the harbinger and the midwife, acting sometimes against and in the face of powerful interests that would rather see the status quo maintained at all costs. The United Nations, we recall, was at its most efficient, producing stable and enduring answers, when changes were the property of all, not the product of the few.

Self-determination is a case in point. Throughout modern times, self-determination has in some instances been met with approval, while in others it has faced tough opposition. The situation seems no better and no worse today. Self-determination is certainly unpredictable in its consequences. Over the past decades, it has produced a whole new world, and it keeps changing this world to this day and into tomorrow, with often unexpected results.

Suggestions are now being made to limit the right to self-determination. In the end, these attempts may prove costly, useless and even harmful. True, self-determination may be misused to provoke hatred, hegemony and homogenization. We have seen examples of this in the past few years, for instance in the dissolution of obsolete but heretofore sovereign States Members of the United Nations. However, the developments in former Member States prove either that calamity can be avoided - as was the case in at least one instance - or that a tragedy can very well be compounded if wisdom is in too short supply or if the right to self-determination falls prey to demagogues and demagoguery. Imposing limits on the right to self-determination will not cut short the demagogues. There seems to be no other way but to establish that respect for human rights is the basic criterion for the implementation of the right to self-determination.

Much has been said in this Hall, and rightly so, about human rights. Respect for and implementation of human rights represent an important vehicle for change, because human rights legitimize the political movement for democracy. They are no less important for successful preventive diplomacy.

We view human rights as a bridge over the abyss of violence. In order to fortify this bridge and make it available to all, human rights should be vehemently and continuously upheld, particularly when a warlord or demagogue chooses to achieve his aims by fire and by sword.

But let us face it: sometimes it takes too long for the international community to see, or to admit that it sees, that human rights are being trampled underfoot. Sometimes it takes too long to react, and untold numbers of people are left to fend for themselves, suffering injustices while yearning for peace and for democratic relations. This certainly is nothing new - there were death camps and *gulags* in our lifetime - but it is simply wrong, and dangerous, for the international community to let this happen at the end of this century, in this time.

Lack of respect for human rights is usually the first wisp of smoke that can tell all those who want to see it that a crisis is in the making. That is the moment to act and not just to compile data and monitor the situation. The world cannot afford the luxury of waiting, beating around the bush and misreading the signals when there is a case of massive violation of human rights. Let me repeat that violations of human rights are the most reliable and the most visible early-warning signal flagging the rising danger. Hence, one would wish that the human rights standards of the Council of Europe were valid around the globe and, if necessary, could be improved around the globe.

We in Slovenia have experienced the vital importance of these principles in our recent past, and we are wholly dedicated to them. With regard to minorities we maintain an internationally very high level as regards the enhancement of their human rights.

For obvious reasons, conflict prevention and preventive diplomacy are celebrated activities these days. The concept is being creatively developed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the United Nations and other organizations. We

seem to be faced with a dilemma as to whether the concept should be a wide one or a narrow one. There is hardly any doubt in our mind that the concept should be a wide one. It is good, but not nearly enough, if preventive diplomacy is kept mainly within the scope of fact-finding, monitoring and observing.

Looking at the horizon of peace-keeping operations and at the horizon of preventive diplomacy, it is to be noted that more often than not precious little is being said about the causes of conflicts. Without focusing on the causes of conflict, preventive action is groping in the dark. It is conventional wisdom that wherever there is conflict there is injustice. The element of justice is sometimes absent, and without it preventive action tends to restore the *status quo ante*. Conflict prevention and preventive diplomacy are thus rendered helpless in their main task; to our mind, that main task is to establish new and stable relationships.

In our view, preventive diplomacy and preventive action are not to prevent change but to prevent the escalation of war and suffering, to bring about peaceful change in an orderly and democratic way and to establish the basis for future stable relations. Hence, attention should be paid equally to putting out the fires of war, violence and destruction in the present and to laying down the framework for the future. This framework for the future will, however, be uncertain if it is cast in the mould of the old.

There has been a lot of talk about regional arrangements lately, and rightly so. It is of particular importance that the United Nations continue to cultivate a relationship of partnership with regional organizations and shun relationships of subordination. It is of great importance that these regional arrangements be developed on democratic premises. These arrangements will serve hardly any useful, much less positive, purpose if they are just refurbished systems of old arrangements or a barely veiled attempt to resurrect or reconstruct the inviable State entities that have fallen apart, causing so much suffering in the process. Reconstituting or reconstructing those entities would seem to be nothing but an invitation to another crisis or one more conflict waiting to happen.

Sweden, the Chairman-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), has brought the CSCE into a logical and forward-looking relationship with the United Nations. It may be time now to give a thought to the possibility of the participation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE in the deliberations of the Security Council whenever it is considering an issue from the CSCE area. The Security Council could profit from the insights of the CSCE, and the road to cooperation between the two organizations could be significantly shortened.

Social tensions, overpopulation and unemployment will likely be among the underlying causes of outbursts of violence, strife and war. To deal with them will take more than armour; it will take politically, socially and economically minded people to deal creatively with the situation.

I wish next to discuss the issue of transition from the totalitarianism to democracy, from command economy to market economy. Beholding the scene of Central and Eastern Europe, one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that in the wake of the bipolar world there are new problems and new uncertainties. The nations of Europe have yet to formulate a new comprehensive policy for the continent. Such a policy cannot be based on the old precepts of the policy of containment. Containment was no doubt an effective policy that kept the totalitarian East at bay for decades. However, the remains of the policy of containment are still weighing heavily on Central and Eastern Europe's relations with the rest of the world.

Now a policy of enlargement - enlargement of the core of market economies and democratic States - is being launched. To our mind, however, this presupposes the abandonment of all vestiges of the policy of containment and an ever stronger involvement of these countries in a true partnership. Involvement will remain necessary in order for these countries to be able to assume their share of responsibility for the future and the stability of Europe. The budding democracies must be strengthened; limping economies must be set on the right foot; and security must be enhanced to the extent that will allow undisturbed political and social development.

I do not want this to be understood as a Euro-centric shopping list of hopes. I think it can be viewed as a part of the programme for any region, and for the United Nations as well.

Mrs. Fritsche (Liechtenstein), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. KALPAGÉ (Sri Lanka): The Sri Lanka delegation wishes to congratulate the Secretary-General for presenting what he himself has referred to as

> "the longest report of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization in many years". (*A/48/1, para. 26*)

It is indeed a comprehensive overview of the manifold activities of the different organs and other bodies of the United Nations system.

In his introduction, the Secretary-General speaks of the new opportunity that presented itself one year ago with the end of the cold war. We agree that there are accomplishments to be applauded. But, as he himself has stated, they do not provide a sense of true satisfaction.

During the past year, "An Agenda for Peace" has been the centre of attention at the United Nations. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building have been exhaustively debated and discussed. On the eve of the present, forty-eighth, session of the General Assembly, a resolution on these topics was adopted by consensus. My delegation had hoped that an agenda for development would not be long delayed. Even though it has not yet materialized, we look forward to the preliminary report which the Secretary-General intends to submit to the General Assembly at this session.

We agree with the Secretary-General's comment that work in the economic and social sectors needs greater focus, clear direction and indeed equal, if not greater, priority. We believe however that the remedy should go beyond institutional revamping. It should encompass policy aspects commensurate with the Charter responsibilities deriving from Article I, that the United Nations

> "be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of ... common ends".

For a variety of reasons the United Nations has not yet been able to use this mandate fully in the economic sphere. We are encouraged by the Secretary-General's determination to fill this gap. Indeed all the good work of the United Nations in the political and security spheres may not be sustainable in the long term if the socio-economic dimensions of peace and security are relegated to secondary status.

The ways and means of reactivating the North-South dialogue, the United Nations role in that process, and pragmatic and affordable concepts and mechanisms for meeting the need for additional resources are some of the issues to be addressed with purpose and commitment. We await policy options on these issues for consideration by Member States in the forthcoming report on an agenda for development.

In the general debate of this Assembly, my Minister for Foreign Affairs put forward some ideas for harmonizing the need for additional resources for development with available private capital through an interest subsidy mechanism.

Peace, development and democracy are interlinked. The Secretary-General states:

> "There can be no flowering of development without the parallel advance of another key concept: democratization. Peace is a prerequisite to development; democracy is essential if development is to succeed over the long term." (*A/48/1, para. 9*)

When the Preparatory Committee for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations was deliberating on a theme for the anniversary, some of us tried to add peace, development and democracy to the generally accepted "We the peoples ...". But "democracy" proved difficult for some Member States to accept. It was then suggested that peace, equality, justice and development would find consensus, in keeping with the preamble to the Charter. In the event, the Preparatory Committee settled for "We the peoples of the United Nations ... united for a better world". We hope that in the solemn declaration which the Working Group of the Preparatory Committee will be preparing, it will be possible to articulate more clearly what kind of better world we are united for. In this connection, we cannot possibly avoid emphasizing peace, development and democracy.

In his report, the Secretary-General states:

> "... democracy within States can be fully sustained over time only if it is linked to expanding democratization among States at all levels of the international system." (*ibid., para. 10*)

This is surely true also of the United Nations and its principal organs.

The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. In the discussions of the Open-Ended Working Group on the Revitalization of the Work of the General Assembly, which Sri Lanka had the honour to co-chair, it was recognized that the General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations consisting of all the Members of the United Nations in which each Member State has an equal

opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. That is why the General Assembly has now decided that the revitalization of its work should be addressed in a comprehensive manner. As a first step, the Assembly decided to reduce the number of its Main Committees from seven to six. The revitalization process is to continue comprehensively at this session in an informal open-ended working group. The rationalization of our agenda is a priority item for consideration.

It is equally important that democratization should extend to other parts of the United Nations system, even to the Security Council. Proposals have been made for a possible review of the membership of the Security Council. Democratization demands that its membership reflect the realities of today rather than the global power structure of 48 years ago.

Decisions of the Security Council are binding on all Member States. Therefore, there must be some mechanism for broader participation in the decision-making process of the Security Council or at least for a general acceptance of decisions made. This would promote greater understanding between the Security Council and the General Assembly. It would thus enable the Security Council to discharge more successfully its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

According to Article 24 of the Charter, it is in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations that its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf. Would some recent decisions of the Security Council be endorsed by all or even the majority of Member States? There is an opportunity now to review the membership of the Security Council, and that opportunity should be seized in order to ensure that democratization and the transparency of the decision-making process are kept in mind. This is a matter to which my delegation expects to revert under the appropriate agenda item.

In his report the Secretary-General refers at length to peace-keeping. The cost of peace-keeping is expected to rise from $1.4 billion in 1992 to an estimated $3.6 billion by the end of 1993. And yet there is increasing concern about some of the peace-keeping operations currently under way. While there have been a few notable successes - such as, for example, in Cambodia - the goal of establishing peace and stability in several areas is still far from being achieved. This is a matter which merits a thorough review. Peace-keeping in all its aspects will be dealt with in the new Special Political and Decolonization Committee (Fourth Committee). It is our hope that these discussions, to which all Member States have access, will facilitate a consensus on the future directions of the United Nations in peace-keeping activities.

As my Minister stated in the general debate:

> "As the transition continues to a new global order, the United Nations will come under greater pressure to live up to its ideals. However, in order to command the widest possible support, the United Nations must operate on the basis of an acceptable set of guiding principles." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 13th meeting, p. 38*)

These are the principles of the Charter.

Mrs. ESCALER (Philippines): My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization (A/48/1). It is not only substantive, thorough and comprehensive, but also thought-provoking. I should like to comment on a few of the issues raised in the report.

First of all, we share the Secretary-General's view that the United Nations should play a pivotal role in promoting not only peace and security, but also - and, in our view, more important - development. Development issues, in my delegation's view, should remain at the core of the United Nations agenda because of the beneficial connection and linkage between development and parallel advances in democratization. As the Secretary-General points out - and we agree with him - democratization must take hold, not only within a State, but also among States in the international community. This, in turn, should translate into multilateral cooperation to support both democratization and development.

It is in this regard that the United Nations has a vital role to play in promoting international cooperation for development. We hope that the sense of urgency given to international peace and security and the promotion of human rights can also be given to development issues, for one cannot deny the increasing economic and technological gap between the developed and the developing countries and the necessity of finding multilateral solutions to close it. The United Nations cannot afford to marginalize the priorities of the majority of its Members, which remain anchored on sustaining the development process and increasing the prosperity of their peoples.

Thus, while we had hoped to have before us at this session the Secretary-General's agenda for development, we nevertheless look forward to receiving his preliminary report on this subject later this year. We further hope that the final report will be made available soon thereafter.

The expanding role of the United Nations today in addressing issues of international peace and security; political, economic and social issues; and those of the environment and development inevitably taxes the resources available to it. This means that the reorganization must not only have the necessary financial and logistical resources for its activities, but, more important, the management capability to allocate these efficiently and productively. At this point, allow me to reiterate the statement which the Philippines Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Roberto Romulo, made before this body at its 20th meeting last week and in which he suggested exploring the possibility of the United Nations utilizing a group with expertise in corporate and scientific management to consider the question of United Nations reform in all its aspects. I must caution, however, that efforts to create greater efficiency should not have a negative impact on United Nations programmes and projects essential to the welfare of developing countries.

At last year's session, we had before us the historic report of the Secretary-General "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). The two resolutions adopted at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly in response to it (resolutions 47/120 A and B) established a number of principles to guide United Nations implementation of peace-keeping activities considered in the report, particularly those of the sovereign equality of States and transparency in establishing United Nations peace-keeping operations. They also acknowledge that some of the concepts in "An Agenda for Peace" are evolving. We believe this to be a prudent decision as it implies that the effectiveness of these concepts must still be ascertained. We welcome the fact that improving the implementation of Article 50 of the Charter is also addressed in one of these resolutions.

In view of the growing involvement of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy and humanitarian and related conflict resolution activities, my delegation, in principle, sees the usefulness of a comprehensive review and assessment by the General Assembly of all aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations, preferably by a single universal body. This would include issues such as mandates, safety, and financial management.

The Philippines recognizes that the maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility. Our participation in a major United Nations peace-keeping operation was a reflection of this. However, our participation in that operation entailed a considerable financial burden on our part, as no doubt it did for other troop-contributing countries, particularly the developing countries among them. The delays in reimbursements of troop costs and compensations for this operation compounded our difficulties. Recognizing that timely payment of assessed contributions is linked to this issue, we nevertheless hope that any exercise aimed at rationalizing United Nations peace-keeping operations addresses this particular subject.

The revitalization of the General Assembly is aimed at enhancing the capacity of the General Assembly to fulfil its role as envisaged under the Charter. It should therefore be undertaken in a comprehensive manner. We look forward to the early convening of the informal open-ended working group established by resolution 47/233, which should make proposals on issues such as the reports of United Nations principal organs to the General Assembly.

Finally, we believe that discussions on the expansion of the membership of the Security Council should be undertaken in the context of the democratization of the United Nations, particularly with a view to increasing the transparency of the Council's work and the participation of non-Council Members in its decision-making process. We look forward to our debate on this subject and, in this connection, would be favourably disposed towards a procedural decision to continue detailed deliberation on this and related issues through an open-ended, structured and transparent mechanism.

Mrs. HASSAN (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: The delegation of Egypt takes pleasure in participating in discussing the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization at a time of dynamic change in an international scene that more than ever before calls for us to intensify the role of the United Nations, to reinforce the positive aspects and remedy the negative in order for us to build a world order that would guarantee progress and prosperity for all Member States and meet the challenges that face us, with the participation of all and in the interests of all.

We welcome the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization contained in document A/48/1. The report invites us to reflect on and define the opportunities before the United Nations and the challenges that face it at present. These are indeed new opportunities

that would make it possible to promote international cooperation in dealing with many of the problems that beset the world, especially the problem of endemic poverty and particularly in Africa.

At the same time, we face challenges that arise from ethnic conflicts and the disintegration of nation States. On the whole, the United Nations has never been faced before by so many demands and has never been the focus of so many expectations. In his report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General has emphasized, in general terms, the enormous potential of the United Nations and the importance of using that potential in order to build a more stable world.

In his report, the Secretary-General reviews the achievements and the shortcomings of the past year, as reflected in the Organization's successes, as I said, but also in its set-backs. The report quite adequately describes the activities of the United Nations in all areas; it proposes the measures of cooperation needed for strengthening the United Nations as an organization and for enhancing the role of that Organization, which is central to today's world because it convenes meetings on a variety of subjects with the participation of all Member States on the basis of sovereign equality.

The report details the work carried out by the various departments of the Secretariat and the various organs of the Organization, in the area of peace and security. However, on the work carried out by the economic and the social sectors, the report is much less clear. This is perhaps the result of the proliferation of institutions and bodies working in those two areas. However, in view of the importance of the issues involved in those two spheres, it would be useful and indeed important to remedy this shortcoming in future reports.

In analysing the contents of the report concerning the gains made and the losses inflicted by reality, and the pattern of developments over the past 12 months, we are bound to arrive at a constant fact, namely the comprehensive nature of the global challenges the world must face and the indissoluble link between maintaining peace and development in all its aspects.

There is no development without peace, and without development there can be no basis for peace. In the absence of development, societies will veer towards conflict. When we look at the development of peace-keeping operations over the past year, we note another fact, highlighted by operations in the field, which is the need to look at those operations from an integral standpoint and the need for the operations to deal not only with the military aspects: attention must also be paid to the political, economic, social and humanitarian aspects.

In this respect, the delegation of Egypt wishes to stress the importance of facing up to non-military threats with the same vigour and determination we show in confronting military threats. Destitution, famine and natural disasters are also sources of instability, and the United Nations must therefore assume a leading role in facing up to such non-military threats to international peace and security.

The basic objective of the United Nations should be to create conditions that, to the best possible extent, would be conducive to reducing instability and diminishing the threats to peace. We need to get at the root causes of such problems and reduce the risks before situations arise and call for peace-keeping operations or, in the worst scenario, deteriorate and make it necessary to resort to coercive measures for the imposition of peace.

The discussion on the "Agenda for Peace" - which, we feel, is only a beginning and not an end - has highlighted new concepts that relate to a number of preventive measures which require States to develop a different outlook and a different approach. The adoption of a resolution on this subject here, during the forty-seventh session, affords an opportunity for the Member States of the Organization to give further consideration to its contents so that, in the future, they can take a positive and realistic stance *vis-à-vis* those concepts and translate "preventive diplomacy" from high-sounding words into reality.

Given the changes that have taken place and the challenges that face the world and which cannot be controlled by any one State or group of States, the United Nations has an even greater responsibility to ensure the achievement of peace and development, as provided for in paragraph 4 of Article 1 of the Charter, which stipulates that the Organization should:

> "... be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

Unquestionably, this has a direct effect on the organs of the Organization which, at present, are undergoing restructuring and reform.

In this regard, I should like to highlight the role of the General Assembly as the main organ of the United Nations and to stress the importance of enhancing that role. The

tables and figures in the Secretary-General's report indicate a rapid increase in the workload of the Security Council and in the attendant peace-keeping operations as well as in the activities of the Secretariat. My delegation wishes to suggest that we should avoid the supposition that each and every issue that has to do with or has an effect on international peace and security must be dealt with at the level of the Security Council. In fact, there are situations in which the General Assembly may be able to play a significant role. This is a matter that the Charter stipulates.

My delegation feels that, in respect of matters affecting international peace and security, there is a need for more contact and dialogue between the Security Council and the General Assembly. In addition, the Security Council's negotiating process should be made more transparent, more open, and the States that are not members of the Council must be consulted. The Council should listen to the views of a wider sector of the States Members of the Organization.

In this context, I must say that the report the Security Council should submit to the General Assembly, as required by the Charter, is an important document that should be less general and more substantive. There is undoubtedly an urgent need for keeping the necessary balance between the Council and the General Assembly as stipulated by the Charter. While some situations concerning peace and security can be dealt with by the General Assembly, which has a key role to play, others might well be entrusted to regional organizations, which could, thereby, take on a pre-eminent role.

Our desire to formulate an effective plan for peace requires that we revitalize the role of the General Assembly in safeguarding peace by ensuring that optimum use is made of the potential that the Charter provides for that purpose. We must also have a clear perception of the role of regional organizations, of the manner in which they can support the work of the United Nations and of their mutually supportive functions. It is practice alone that will enable us to ensure harmonious integration of the roles played by the Security Council, by the General Assembly, by regional organizations and by the Secretariat.

The delegation of Egypt supports the effort to restructure the United Nations and revitalize its role in the economic and social spheres and stresses that any restructuring in those two areas must be aimed at promoting international cooperation for development and that any reform of the United Nations bodies should be geared to the promotion of that cooperation so that the Organization may become more responsive to the current realities and the changes that are taking place in the world so that it may respond to the requirements of development in the developing countries.

My delegation also affirms that an agenda for development should be given the same high profile as the "Agenda for Peace". In fact, the former should be complementary to the latter, as development is a precondition for peace and is, thus, one of the essential elements of preventive diplomacy.

My delegation welcomes the tendency to increase the transparency of the Secretariat's activities and supports its restructuring in order to enhance its capability to deal with the increasing tasks entrusted to it. We support all efforts in that respect. Egypt feels, however, that the process of restructuring should not run counter to the priorities set for the Organization by its Member States. On the contrary, it should contribute to the promotion of those priorities. This will be made possible only by the promotion of full consultation on a permanent basis between the Secretariat and the Member States before and during all the stages of restructuring.

Egypt feels that any comprehensive and objective assessment of the Organization's ability to function efficiently will depend in large part on the extent to which Member States will honour their financial commitments to it, on time.

Finally, we feel that the problems that beset our world are universal both in their scope and in their effects. Consequently, dealing with such problems requires international efforts if we are to come up with solutions that would ensure the emergence of the new international order we aspire after. The balance and justice we hope for in such an order will be ensured only through the political will of all Member States and their commitment to international cooperation and all-embracing dialogue.

Mr. RAHMAN (Malaysia): We welcome this opportunity to participate in the debate on the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization. We congratulate the Secretary-General on this document, which, in many respects, could be described as a report on the state of the United Nations in 1992. The Secretary-General has pre-empted delegations with his admission that it is the longest such report to be presented in many years. Its length notwithstanding, the report gives an overview and makes specific references to the theme, thrust and status of the various activities undertaken by the United Nations. The document is comprehensive, yet

succinct. Indeed, together with the speech of the President of the General Assembly, it has set the tone and tenor of debate for the current session. This process was enriched by the statements of all our leaders in the general debate.

Malaysia has consistently drawn attention to the need for a strong and effective United Nations. We have always maintained that it is necessary to abide by the spirit and substance of the United Nations Charter. Together with other countries, we have watched the United Nations as it has played a truly effective role in the promotion of international peace, security and development. We agree with this observation in the Secretary-General's report:

> "Only the United Nations has the universal character, the global convening power and the extensive networks which cover virtually every international function". (*A/48/1, para. 18*)

After all, the United Nations is the apex of the intergovernmental, multilateral process.

We realize that, despite dramatic and qualitative developments affecting the Organization and the international scene, change within the United Nations and in inter-State relations conducted within the United Nations system cannot happen overnight; neither can it be revolutionary. Change will have to be a process conditioned by time and many other factors. However, one thing is certain: there must be change. We must not make any irreversible mistake that will make posterity condemn us for not living up to the historic opportunity, or as the report refers to it, the "turning-point".

The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization clearly indicates the readiness of the Secretary-General to undertake the necessary changes in the Organization. While we would be supportive of the initiatives of the Secretary-General and his team, we renew our appeal at the same time for the widest amount of consultation to be attempted in the process. The Secretary-General will no doubt be exposed to many views, some views more persuasive than others. The end of the cold war and the changing times do not mean the end of the pursuit of primacy of positions and ideas. We are aware that those who have profited from the United Nations as it was structured in 1945 will resist change and continue to perpetuate their advantage. In the circumstances, it is incumbent on the countries of the South and other like-minded countries, collectively and individually, to hold strong to their collective views. In this regard we are happy that the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement has also addressed this meeting.

The United Nations of the future, must clearly be on the side of the world's majority. It must be attentive to and caring about the problems of that majority. Any change in the United Nations through restructuring or revitalization must result in maximizing the opportunity for the South and the third world to place their problems before the United Nations for attention and redress. It is in that context that we in the South must make our views known as much as possible. The few should not be allowed to continue to influence the United Nations. As we stated in the debate on the same subject last year, we should set targets - perhaps by 1995 - for discernible and constructive changes within the United Nations to be firmly set in train.

Malaysia is convinced that the future credibility and effectiveness of the concept of collective security and the United Nations role in the maintenance of international peace and security require greater use of the mechanism for preventive diplomacy. This will be possible if there is strong support for the Secretary-General and the Security Council to undertake proactive actions, early actions to evaluate conflict situations and undertake decisive moves to prevent the outbreak of open conflicts. But Member States will give their support only if there is sufficient confidence and trust especially in the actions of the Security Council, something which has to be acquired over time.

In this regard too, it is important that the Security Council be seen to implement some of its own resolutions. This is particularly relevant in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is being increasingly seen that the Security Council has been less than effective in implementing its own decisions on Bosnia and Herzegovina, while reacting promptly to other issues. The Security Council has failed in its duty towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and yet has prevented the Government and people of that country from defending themselves by refusing to lift the arms embargo.

My delegation therefore fully endorses the position that the principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust would wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and unique quality of that instrument. The United Nations effectiveness in preventing and settling conflicts and preserving international peace is dependent on the credibility of its decisions and the degree of consistency in the application of the principles of the Charter. In the spirit of the Charter and the interests of Member States, there has to be harmonization in the relationship between the General

Assembly and the Security Council on the question of peace and security. We must not have a situation where the views of the general membership of the United Nations are ignored and the Council chooses to apply principles only when it suits the interests and convenience of certain prominent members.

As we stated during the debate at the forty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly, we are not happy over the absence of a balanced, mutually reinforcing relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. There should be a greater role for the General Assembly and more regular and closer consultations between the general membership and the Security Council in matters relating to peace and security. We welcome some of the recent initiatives undertaken by the Security Council towards transparency and consultation with non-members of the Council. It is our belief that this process should be continued and strengthened.

The report of the Secretary-General to the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly includes five main chapters, namely: I. Introduction; II. Coordinating a Comprehensive Strategy; III. Developing the Global Community; IV. Expanding Preventive Diplomacy, Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Resolution; and V. Conclusion: Strengthening the Human Foundation. A considerable part of the report is devoted to peace-keeping and other related aspects. This implicitly reflects the preoccupation of the United Nations in 1992.

Malaysia, a developing country, has endeavoured to play its role as a United Nations Member, among other things, through its contribution to the United Nations peace-keeping activities. We are involved in a number of United Nations peace-keeping and field missions. Our peace-keepers are in many parts of the world, including Somalia, where we have suffered loss of life as well. While we look forward to the full debate on the specific item of peace-keeping, we wish to state at this juncture that troop-contributing countries need to be kept fully informed of specific operations. Unity of command and clarity of mandate are key elements in any successful peace-keeping mission. For any peace-keeping operation to be truly representative of the international community, the active participation of developing countries is critical. It is equally important that contributions from all countries be accepted, rather than using a selective approach which may give rise to concerns of discrimination.

The stress on peace-keeping and related activities has had a direct impact on the state of the finances of the United Nations. It has adversely affected the United Nations operational activities and overall raised fundamental questions relating to the United Nations role in the area of development. It is envisaged that, if the present trend continues, the ratio of expenditure on peace-keeping to the United Nations operational and development activities may well be of the order of 4:1. We recall yet again our appeal last year for an agenda for development. "An Agenda for Peace" without being complemented by an agenda for development will not effectively contribute to international peace and security. The proposed agenda for development would no doubt have to take into account all activities and initiatives, including Agenda 21, so as to ensure that there is no duplication.

In the context of development activities, we wish to reiterate our view that there is a need for a clear linkage between the results of Bretton Woods meetings and the initiatives taken at the United Nations. The world majority represented in the United Nations must have a say in the critical decisions taken by bodies such as Bretton Woods and the Group of Seven. The decisions taken at Bretton Woods can no longer be taken in isolation, out of step with the collective needs expressed at the United Nations.

The Secretary-General's report is optimistic about the various initiatives undertaken since the Rio Earth Summit in June 1992. Malaysia fully supports the observations contained in the report. We wish, however, to stress that all those initiatives must be based on successful collective efforts to ensure the means of implementation through technology transfers and financial flows. Without such means of implementation the various programmes and activities in Agenda 21 and the various negotiating processes would be seriously impaired.

Malaysia looks forward to working with all countries in addressing the financial crisis of the United Nations. We agree that regular and predictable financial resources, as well as well-trained manpower, are important ingredients if the United Nations is to discharge its responsibilities. Cost-cutting measures designed to promote greater efficiency and increased productivity are to be welcomed. Such measures, however, should enjoy the support of United Nations Members. There are various proposals put forward to strengthen the financial base of the United Nations and we look forward to their elaboration in the Fifth Committee.

Given the set of issues raised in the report, and in view of time constraints, my delegation would wish to comment on other issues in the appropriate Committees or as and when a specific issue is raised in the Assembly.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting I should like to inform members that, due to the lateness of the hour and the large number of Member States inscribed on the list of speakers, the General Assembly will hear the last 11 speakers under agenda item 10 tomorrow morning, as the third item in the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.